Pavao Ritter Vitezović;

defining national identity in the baroque age.

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Abstract

This thesis is intended as a contribution to the understanding of national identity construction by national élites in early modern Europe. It examines the development of national identity among the Croats and concentrates upon the life and work of the Croatian writer and scholar Pavao Ritter Vitezović (1652-1713). His work in the fields of national history, linguistics and genealogy is treated as typical of the type of early modern scholar concerned with national identity, here termed identity constructor.

The phenomenon of identity construction among the early modern Croats is set in the context of current debates over western and eastern models of national development. This is followed by an account of the development of a Croatian identity in the fields of politics and culture during the early modern period. Chapter Two is concerned with the social and intellectual forces which led early modern scholars to address questions of national identity. It examines Vitezović's intellectual and moral world, in particular the character of his patriotism and its origins in humanist learning and in chivalry. Chapter Three looks at ideas of national renewal in Vitezović's work. It discussees his analysis of the threats facing the Croats in terms of external enemies, namely the Turks and the lack of coherence among the Christian alliance, and internal enemies, namely the Croats' own decadence and indifference to their national identity.

The next three chapters examine aspects of the identity which Vitezović presented to the Croats in order to halt their decline into obsolescence. Chapter Four uses Vitezović's ethnographic writings to examine how national identities are fashioned from existing material to suit current circumstances. It discusses his use of Slav and Illyrian literature to inspire the Croats with nostalgia for their former period of greatness. This longing would rouse the Croats from their present state of apathy and direct them towards the task of national self-renewal. Chapters Five and Six look at the importance of statehood for Croatian national identity. Chapter Five examines how Vitezović set the existing political institutions of the Kingdom of Croatia within the context of the Croats' national history and defined the relations between the Croats and their king, the Habsburg Emperor. The following chapter looks at Vitezović's grand scheme for an enlarged Kingdom of Croatia to be built under the aegis of the Emperor after the Ottoman withdrawal from the Balkans. It considers how historical and ethnic arguments are used to invest territory with national content. The concluding chapter examines problems of change and continuity within national identities. A brief survey of developments in Croatian national identity in the half century after Vitezović's death and before the rise of the romantic movement is followed by a general conclusion on the constraints which determine how a nation creates its identity.

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Acknowledgments

The subject of this sally into current debates over national identity and nation-building has been reached by an indirect route. First a classicist's enthusiasm for the history and culture of the east Mediterranean developed into a particular interest in epic poetry and the oral tradition. This led to a curiosity as to how these traditions had continued among the inhabitants of the Balkan peninsula under Ottoman occupation. At London University, these interests, nurtured under one half of the Oxford 'Greats' course, combined with a willingness to pursue further the problems of identity to which I had been introduced during my undergraduate studies of philosophy.

I accordingly express my gratitude to all the tutors and lecturers who have inspired, assisted and encouraged me in my interests throughout my time as a university student. My greatest debt is to my supervisor at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, Dr Wendy Bracewell. She has undertaken the task of teaching me the historian's discipline with patience and goodwill. I am grateful to her for bringing me to appreciate the richness, variety and excitement of history. I must also thank Professor Ivo Banac of Yale University who introduced me to the writings of Pavao Ritter Vitezović and who has taken a keen interest in this project throughout its long gestation. I must also thank Dr Mark Wheeler and the staff and librarians at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies.

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Pavao Ritter Vitezović was beset throughout his career by a shortage of patronage. I have not been so troubled. My greatest debt is to my father, Mr John Simpson, *patri, maecenati, amicoque meritissimo.*

Quanto magis nobile atque decorum est

vera suae propaginis initia.....

tota manu remonstrare!

How much more noble and fitting it is

to demonstrate with a generous hand

the true beginnings of a nation!

Pavao Ritter Vitezović

Preface to *Serbiae Illustratae*

libri octo

CHAPTER ONE

Problems of identity

A name is worthless without a backing of descriptions which can be produced on demand to explain its application.

This is a study of national identity in the early modern era, before the rise of modern nationalism. More precisely it is a study of processes of identity construction among the Croats as perceived through the work of one Croatian writer of that period, Pavao Ritter Vitezović (1652-1713).

Nations existed and were recognized long before the awareness of nationality became the fomenter of political ideologies. What creates this self-awareness, this national consciousness, is the perception of a distinct identity which invests one's own community with its peculiar character and which in turn distinguishes it from other communities. The identities by which nations are distinguished from one another have never been immutable matters of fact, although they have at times been perceived as such. Rather national identities exist in a state of flux. Some identities persist while others disappear, their nations sometimes remembered only as a name. Within those identities which persist, the combination of identifying particulars is subject to change, making it a matter of debate whether any national identity can truly be said to persist. National identities do not evolve through processes of natural, unassisted development. In the Old Testament, *Leviticus* embodies an

early attempt by a nation to define its identity through drawing up a code of conduct. Not all nations have been so emphatic in the construction of their identities as the Jewish nation has proved itself to be. It is, nevertheless, difficult to look at the history of any nation, or indeed any social group, without finding some evidence of the deliberate nurturing of those identifying particulars which explain the application of their collective name.

In this thesis, the life and work of Pavao Ritter Vitezović provide a focus for studying the phenomenon of identity construction. The choice of a seventeenth century Croatian intellectual for a case-study sets this investigation amid the controversies surrounding the East European experiences of nation-building in the early modern period. The conventional historical view regards the early modern period in the west as a time of consolidation in the processes of nation-building but in the east as a period of confusion and stagnation. Nationalist rhetoric in turn fosters this outlook when it speaks of the era of nationalism in terms of rebirth, awakening and resurrection as if nations had been sleeping or dead during the early modern, pre-nationalist age.

This tendency to exalt the significance of the modern age of nationalism in Eastern Europe at the expense of the early modern period, has its origins in too close an identification of the terms state and nation. As a political term *state* is now most commonly used to refer to the supreme civil power of a country. *State* may also properly be used of the political community organized under a government, with the political community being

defined as those participating in that government. This, somewhat earlier, understanding of the English word *state* has an equivalent in the term *estates*, more familiar from the discussion of continental history. Since the rise of nationalism, the recent use of *nation* has tended to render it too a political term, referring to people under the same government. *Roget's Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases* places *nation* under *mankind* but in the same subsection as such wholly political terms as *nationalism*, *statehood*, *demos*, *city-state* and *realm*. This use of *nation* as a weak synonym for *state* encourages the dangerous fallacies that all members of a state are members of one nation and that a nation cannot exist fully without a state of its own. A return to the root of the word *nation* helps to clarify a specific use for it, free from vexatious nuances of political unity or sovereignty. *Nation* has its origins in the Latin verb *nasci*, to be born. Its immediate root *natio* carries with it notions of breed, stock and race. Early examples of the use of the English word *nation* follow the Latin use with the emphasis upon the notion of common descent.[2] Once its sense is freed from nationalist accretions, *nation* comes into its own as a specific term describing a group of persons belonging to the same ethnological family and identified by particulars derived from the group's culture. These cultural criteria for identification may include language, customs, ancestral homeland, shared history and indeed, statehood as part of the nation's common historical experience. It is this use of the word *nation* which is favoured in this thesis. Thus a nation may belong to several states and a state can be comprised of several nations or only part of one nation; English children under the age of eighteen are no less members of the English nation for being outside the franchise and excluded from the processes of government.

It was in state-building that the greatest divergence had occurred by the early modern period between the experiences of the nations of the west and the east. During the Middle Ages, the nations in the west had developed their identities for the most part in areas coextensive with their political boundaries. During the same period, independent states centred upon particular nations had existed in the east. While this pattern continued undisturbed in the west, the states in the east, between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries, lost their independent sovereignties. The Ottomans conquered the mediaeval empires of the Bulgars and the Serbs and then advanced to capture the heartlands of the Kingdoms of Hungary and Croatia and to exercise suzerainty over the Romanian principalities. In the sixteenth century, the Austrian Habsburgs acquired the elective crowns of the Kingdom of Bohemia and the war-torn remains of the Kingdoms of Hungary and Croatia. Meanwhile in the north-east, Poland and Muscovy assumed the character of multi-national states. While in the west, the state promoted national identity, in the east, nations were left to develop their identities apart from or in opposition to the state.

Historical experience shows that nations can develop and maintain their identities without states of their own. During the early modern period in Western Europe, Italian and German national identities developed without the agency of a national state and dynasty. Among the nations of Eastern Europe which were then subsumed into vast empires and multinational states, the early modern period was likewise a significant period of identity construction. Among the national élites of the east, national identity

remained no less pertinent an issue than among the national élites of Western Europe. The nobility and intellectuals still contributed to and partook of the main currents of European high culture. By the seventeenth century, the learned cultures of the nations of Eastern Europe were subject to two opposing trends. The nobles and intellectuals embraced the Italian, French and German high culture of the day. At the same time, they developed a conscious preoccupation with their own national culture. This unambiguous sense of nationality and 'discovery' of national culture had begun in the east with the first flowerings of humanist scholarship, in the case of the Czechs, Magyars and Croats a century prior to their absorption into the Habsburg Empire. These intellectual trends continued with conscious attention being given to the defining characteristics within national cultures. Language, perhaps the most decisive identifying characteristic of a nation, was scrutinized by scholars who worked to create a standard orthography, studied dialects, compiled dictionaries and considered the apparent familial relationships between their own and other languages. This interest in language and dialect was fostered by the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, both of which gained much of their impetus in the east. Other scholars were active in the field of genealogy, tracing the ancestry of their nation, lost ruling dynasties or individual families. National culture was celebrated for its own sake in the east no less than in the west as a source of national pride. There was though an air of defensiveness about such scholarship in the east which distinguished it from similar scholarship in the west, from the assertive celebrations of national culture among the French and English or, as they grew confident in their hard-won independence from Spain, among the Dutch. Cultural

xenophobia is not peculiar to nations under foreign rule. But in the east, the fear of cultural cosmopolitanism could be linked to a fear of assimilation to the *mores* of the ruling house, a fear which added an urgency of purpose to the scholars' work. Assimilation in fact proved more the trend among those nations settling under Ottoman rather than Habsburg rule. The present day members of the Muslim communities in Bosnia and Albania are the descendants of those who converted to Islam under Ottoman rule and it would be wrong to suppose that these conversions were necessarily forced. Among those élites who remained on the fringe of Christendom and who had seen their brethren fall subject to the infidel, there grew the urge to record and preserve what they saw as their beleaguered culture.

Although the mediaeval independent states had been subsumed into larger political entities, their spirit remained as a part of how the members of a nation perceived their history. In popular culture, the memory of national monarchs lingered on, finding expression in oral poetry and in the cult of those monarchs who had been canonized.* Among the literate élite, the recent past, in particular the days of independent statehood, attracted the interest of scholars who strove to satisfy a readership which was no longer content to read of antiquity but wanted to read specifically of its own past. Historians gleaned the works of Virgil, Tacitus and Livy and juggled with the names of ancient tribes in pursuit of suitably noble forefathers for their nation.* This enthusiasm for national history among the members of national élites testifies to their developed sense of the nation as a historic community and their inability or unwillingness to

countenance a time when their nation had not existed. Although such historical scholarship appealed to a sense of nostalgia, it represented more than the indulgence by an intellectual élite in a wistful *recherche du temps perdu* . The nobility who made up the traditional political nation were earnestly engaged in defining their position within the new political groupings in which they found themselves. Within the Habsburg Empire, the once independent kingdoms continued in name within the royal and imperial titles and their constitutions were formally preserved. The nobility of these once independent kingdoms sought to elucidate the precise circumstances of their union. Their claims could be supported by the work of historians who expounded the 'traditional' rights and privileges of the national nobilities. The rights asserted by the nobility were not necessarily of such ancient provenance as might be claimed, but they could be mobilized in the demand for new rights and lent a patina of antiquity and continuity. Likewise the leaders of the peasant revolts laid claim to traditional rights and privileges which their followers were led to believe had been theirs in an earlier, more egalitarian age. When, in the early seventeenth century, the Habsburg central authorities in Vienna started to exhibit an urge towards centralism, the definition of legal position gained urgency among the traditional political nations in Bohemia, Hungary and Croatia. Privileged groups, the nobilities and citizens of free towns presented memoranda to the Emperor urging him to confirm and respect 'their traditional rights'.

The French Revolution of 1789 has served historians as the pivot between the early modern and the modern periods. When this convenient temporal

division is taken to refer to two mental worlds, then the date of the pivot becomes the time, far less easy to determine precisely, when the ideas of the French Revolution took noticeable effect. The division between the early modern and modern periods consequently varies from nation to nation. The arrival of the 'noble savage' in the mental world of individual national élites marks the break between early modern and modern concepts of the nation. The élites who were the builders of national identity, looked and found 'true' national character in the uncorrupted, artless souls of the peasantry. The 'noble savage' ushered in an expanded conception of what could be termed *national* and an expansion of cherishable national culture. At the same time, the nationalists of the nineteenth century in pursuit of their political goals also drew upon the intellectual national culture which had been created by the political and scholarly élites of the early modern period. So it is that elements of national identity, which were laid down in the fields of genealogy, philology and history during the early modern period have persisted as a fundamental part of modern national consciousness. Although the nations of Eastern Europe had fallen behind those of the west during the early modern period in terms of political, economic and social development, in the sphere of scholarship, national élites had continued to build national identities.

Since the nineteenth century, Pavao Ritter Vitezović has attracted the interest of a succession of Croatian historians. The meticulous cradle-to-grave biography by Vjekoslav Klaić stands foremost among all existing studies of Vitezović.* It was published in 1914, on the eve of the war

which was to lead to the final disappearance of the Kingdom of Croatia and the absorption of the Croatian nation into political union with the other South Slav, or Yugoslav nations. The general tendency of other Croatian studies, particularly from the inter-war years, has been partisan. The literature about Vitezović, when taken as a whole, invites use as a barometer of the mercurial political fortunes of the Croatian nation. A division may be drawn between those historians who chose to emphasize the specifically Croatian content of Vitezović's writings and who have raised him up as the *praotac pankroatizma*, the forefather of pan-Croatism, and those historians who have hailed Vitezović as an early exponent of the Yugoslav idea, albeit under a different name. This division mirrors the bifurcation in Croatian political thought of the nineteenth century, a bifurcation in which both sides claimed inspiration from Vitezović. The Croatian romantic nationalists of the first half of the nineteenth century, the members of the Illyrianist movement had 'discovered', interpreted and championed Vitezović's theories of Croatian and Slav brotherhood.[6] As a result of their interest in his work, Vitezović's writings came to inspire both Bishop Juraj Strossmayer as he developed his theories of Yugoslavism which emphasized common cultural bonds between the Croats and their other South Slav brethren, and Ante Starčević who championed Croatian state-right above all consideration of supposed ethnic ties.[7] While attempts to put Yugoslavism into practice as a political idea have proved incompatible with theories of Croatian state-right, the seeds of both schools of thought co-existed amicably in Vitezović, a gentleman scholar of the pre-nationalist era. One intention in writing this thesis has been to demonstrate how Vitezović's ethnological work and his

exposition of Croatian state-right were responses to prevailing political circumstances and to relate both aspects of his work to the stages in his development as a scholar.

In the context of wider discussions about national identity in early modern Europe, Vitezović's value lies in his conformity to the model of an early modern identity constructor. An intellectual, educated in the baroque culture of the day and a member of the lesser nobility, Vitezović was a member of a patriotic élite. He was active in the fields of philology, genealogy, ethnology, topography and history. He sifted through the history of the Kingdom of Croatia to establish the minutiae of the Croats' legal position in the changed circumstances of Habsburg rule. His writings are characterized by their decided national content, by their preoccupation with questions concerning Croatia and the Croats. In his posthumous career, Vitezović also conforms to the pattern of an early modern identity builder. His ideas were discovered in the age of nationalism and through the 'Yugoslav' construct placed upon them, certain aspects of his work have survived into the age of socialism.

Is there not, however, an inherent problem in approaching national identity, which is by definition a mass phenomenon, through the life and work of one individual? Yet national identity resides nowhere else than in the individual. The nation takes its identity from that of the many individuals who make up the large-scale social formation termed the nation. These individuals are the agents of identity construction. They are the

agents who, through their responses to social and economic change, by their changing perception of the world, even by their sense of their own mortality, mould the identity of their nation. The career of Pavao Ritter Vitezović illustrates how an exceptionally assertive individual can exert long-term influence upon a nation's identity. It is no less true to move in the opposite direction from society or the nation to the individual. Since Vitezović was no less a product of his society than any other man, his life and work must reflect the society which produced him. As long as society and the individual are conceived as separate entities, the circular argument must remain that the individual is shaped by society and society is shaped by the individual.*

Homogeneity of expression does not exist within national identities. The individual may exhibit only some of the various particulars within the identifying framework of a particular nation's identity and yet still be counted a member of that nation. These particulars may be expressed in varying degrees or different modes. These modes and degrees will be determined by such variables as the character of the individual, his education, religious denomination or religion, social class and geographical position. The Scottishness of a third generation settler in Michigan may vary considerably in its expression from that of a clan chieftan or a Celtic supporter on the terraces.

The adjective *national* need not imply that the object to which it is applied pertains to the whole nation but that it belongs within the national identity framework. Vitezović expressed thoughts which were at

that time peculiar to his social class, but he did so within a framework which was avowedly Croatian and national. He is an example of a seventeenth-century writer whose sense of his own nationality was unambiguous. His writings have a clear national content. They reflected issues and sympathies which extended beyond local and individual concerns.

There were foci of sentiment in Vitezović's day which were common to the Croatian élite and the great mass of illiterate Croats. The cults of national saints, of national heroes and the memory too of national monarchs and the heyday of independent statehood were shared elements of national identity, although variously expressed. The evidence for popular identity, which was expressed in a predominantly oral and visual culture, is scanty. A wealth of textual sources, though, survives as material for the study of national identity among the Croatian élite of the period. Vitezović created an abundance of writings which show the preoccupation with national questions which lasted from his youth to the end of his life. Since he was a member of the lesser nobility and because much is also known of his involvement in public life, the stages in the development of his theories can be related to the political changes which were affecting the position of the Croatian nobility within the Kingdom of Croatia. Vitezović was also prone to the analysis of his motivation and his declarations of high intent afford an insight into the character and origins of patriotism among his class. A number of letters and other documents survive which give details of his social circumstances and show how his contemporaries viewed him and his work. Library inventories from north Croatia are a guide to uncovering the circulation of his printed works and reflect the interest

which existed in the themes with which he and other writers of the period were concerned. Through such circumstantial material it becomes easier to approach the questions of how representative Vitezović was of the Croatian élite and the extent to which he influenced the way his contemporary contacts viewed their identity.

Vitezović's patriotism and national identity were a synthesis of beliefs, values and motifs rooted in the classical and Christian scholarly traditions. It is possible, through his writings, to examine how certain particulars acquire national significance and are selected and reworked to become basic parts of the framework of national identity while other particulars are marginalized or abandoned. Vitezović was active during a period of challenges to the political position of the Croatian élite. His life and work reflect some of the factors which turn intellectuals towards the task of national self-definition. What forces motivate change in identity? What is the attraction of one particular identity in a world offering an infinite variety of identities? What elements are chosen to make up a nation's identity? How do the members of a nation use culture to deal with political problems? These questions have a universal application. It is the aim of this thesis to contribute not only to the study of the Croats but to the universal phenomenon of identity construction.

In search of a Croatian identity; nobles and intellectuals

In the early modern period, the Croatian élite was made up of the nobility and intellectuals. The nobility of the Kingdom of Croatia consisted of the magnate families of the higher nobility and the families of lesser nobles. At their head they had the *ban* (viceroy) who was appointed from among their ranks by the king. The higher and lower nobility sat alongside the higher clergy in the unicameral *sabor* (parliament) which was summoned by the king. Also sitting in the sabor were the representatives of the Royal Free Towns, the Zagreb *kaptol* (cathedral chapter) and, after 1606, the rector of the Jesuit College at Zagreb. Nobles of the very lowest rank, such as Pavao Ritter Vitezović, only had indirect representation through deputies elected by the county assemblies.

Did the members of the nobility nurture decisive thoughts about their nationality? Many noble families had their origins outside Croatia. As the Turks advanced through the Balkans, many fugitives had settled in the Kingdom of Croatia as well as in Hungary and Austria.* The lesser nobility for the most part bore unmistakeably South Slav family names and thought unambiguously of themselves as Croatian. The magnates present a more difficult case. A survey of the names of the bans shows that many of the magnates of the Kingdom of Croatia were from Hungary. The [illegible], Erdődy, Pálffy, and Batthyány families, produced bans of Croatia, the Pálffys a palatine as well. The notable exception was apparently the Zrinski family which in the seventeenth century produced three bans, two in succession. The Zrinskis were a branch of the princes Šubić from Bribir in Dalmatia. They ran vast estates and had trading and

industrial enterprises within the Kingdom of Croatia. Even so, the Zrinskis illustrate the uncertainty which surrounds the identity of so many magnate families of the Kingdoms of Croatia and Hungary. The Zrinskis, or to give the more familiar Hungarian form, the Zrínyis, had married into the Hungarian nobility and had strong Hungarian connections. An individual who exhibits elements of two or more national identities may have divided loyalties and defy categorization. Yet a national identity is no less genuine for being exhibited by an individual with a mixed identity. Individual members of magnate families could exhibit a dual national identity. Nikola Zrinski (1620-1664) described his younger brother Petar (1621-1671) as 'a good Magyar, a good Croat'.[10]

The apparent ambiguity in the identity of the magnates among the Croatian political nation is part of the greater problem within Croatian history. Historians outside Croatia have tended to oversimplify, treating the Croats as one with the Hungarians in political studies of the early modern period. Indeed, the Croats and Hungarians hold in common much of the raw material of their national history in the early modern period. Many of the protagonists in their history defy an unambiguous delineation of nationality. That celebrated tableau of Croatian history, the siege of Siget or Szigetvár, took place on Hungarian soil and its hero Nikola Šubić Zrinski remains better known in the west as Miklós Zrinyi.

In search of Croatian identity; Croatian statehood, section i below, discusses how the members of the Croatian political nation diverged from their fellows in Hungary, particularly in their attitude to the Habsburg monarchy and were capable of independent action long before the rise of Magyarphobia in the late eighteenth century.

The intellectuals within Croatian society were a socially eclectic group. Many nobles from the period can be counted among the intellectuals. They and the Church were the patrons without whom writers, artists, and scholars could not survive. They contributed to high culture with their own writings and scholarship. During the seventeenth century, the magnates Nikola and Petar Zrinski were great patrons of the arts and among the finest poets of their generation, with one brother favouring the Hungarian, and the other the Croatian vernacular. Of the Croatian historians of the same period, Ivan Lučić was a member of a patrician family from Trogir, Juraj Rattkay was a baron and canon and Pavao Ritter Vitezović also a baron.[11] That Vitezović was, however, an anomaly is now recognized by his often being singled out as the first professional writer among the Croats.[12] Although a member of the lesser nobility, he was without private means and for much of his life lived upon the patronage he gained through his writings. He was also exceptional in that he did not follow the course of so many of a scholarly bent but no income and enter holy orders. It was, with few exceptions, from the clergy that He great body of Croatian scholars were drawn.

What part did the clergy play in the development of a Croatian culture? The Croats differed from the other South Slavs, the Bulgarians and Serbs, who were Orthodox and had national churches. A few made a brief flirtation with Protestantism but the reformed churches failed to make as strong a foothold among the Croats as they did among the Hungarians and Czechs.[13] In 1604, the sabor decreed that Roman Catholicism was the only confession permitted within the confines of the Kingdom of Croatia.

The orders which dominated among the Croats were the Jesuits, the Franciscans and the Paulines. Many of their clergy had studied abroad at the flourishing Croatian colleges at Bologna, Vienna and Rome where they were immersed in the late-humanist, Counter-Reformation culture of their day.[14] To what extent did this Roman Catholic clerical culture, the trans-national culture of the Universal Church, admit national expression at local level?. How national identity was expressed within this high noble and church culture is discussed in section ii below: In search of a Croatian identity; literature and scholarship.

1. In search of a Croatian identity; Croatian statehood

The Croats lost their political independence early in the twelfth century. For over eight centuries after the end of their native dynasty, the Croats found their fortunes linked to those of a succession of foreign ruling houses, the Árpads, Anjous and Jagiełłos, the Austrian Habsburgs and finally the Karadjordjevićs of Serbia. Yet statehood has remained a fundamental element within the national consciousness of the Croats. During the early modern period, the Croatian élite, the nobility and intellectuals, championed Croatian state-right. In the age of nationalism, the supporters of Ante Starčević and the *Stranka prava*, Party of Right, built their political programme around the notion of state-right. Today, in what is seen as the post-socialist age, Croatian state-right is the basis of newly voiced claims for greater Croatian autonomy and calls for a Yugoslav confederation, or even outright Croatian independence. What is the historical basis of this most persistent element within Croatian national thought?

The first Croatian state took its independent existence among the South Slav states from the migrant Croats who had arrived in the Balkans and settled in the region of the Adriatic coast. These Croats, who were Slavs or possibly the slavicized members of another race, had migrated from northern Europe. In the course of their wanderings, they had stayed in the area around modern Cracow which in the tenth century, according to the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, was called White Croatia.[18] The Croats were one of several groups of Slav migrants in the Balkans which had set out from different points of departure to arrive in successive waves of migration in the Balkan peninsula. These groups remained clearly differentiated so that the first states which emerged in the Middle Ages among the South Slavs were based around the three major groupings of South Slav migrants; the Bulgars, Croats and Serbs.

The Croats established their independent principality during the ninth century. The original Croatian state spread along the eastern Adriatic coast between the rivers Raša and Cetina and extended inland as far as the river Vrbas with its earliest capital at Biograd and later inland at Knin. Under its elected rulers, drawn almost exclusively from the Trpimir family, the Kingdom of Croatia grew into a thriving and expanding maritime power. During the reign of King Tomislav (ruled 910-928) the area between the rivers Drava and Sava, then known as Slavonia, was added to the Croatian kingdom, having been wrested after a long struggle from the Magyar settlers. During the rule of Petar Krešimir IV (c. 1059-1074), the most powerful of the Croatian rulers, the theme of Dalmatia was acquired from the Byzantine Emperor. By 1089, and the death

of King Dmitar Zvonimir, the borders of the Kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia stretched from the Raša to the Neretva, from the Adriatic coast and its islands inland to the rivers Drina, Bosna, Drava, Mura and Kupa.[16]

Independent Croatian statehood ended after the last of the Trpimirs died in 1090 without a direct heir. After twelve years of civil war, the Croatian nobility elected King Kálmán of Hungary as their ruler and in 1102 the Kingdom of Croatia became *partes adnexae* (annexed lands) of the Kingdom of Hungary. In 1526, the Croats again found themselves without a king after the death of Louis II Jagiełło at the battle of Mohacs. The Croatian nobles within the Kingdom of Croatia supported the candidate from the House of Habsburg and in 1527, acting independently of the Hungarian nobles, they elected Ferdinand of Austria (Ferdinand I) as their king. Only those nobles from that part of Slavonia which was then directly administered by the Hungarians continued to support the favourite of the Hungarian nobility, János Zápolyai (Ivan Zapolje), a Transylvanian prince whose name betrayed his Slavonian ancestry. The Croatian nobles had acted in expectation of the advantages which would accrue from having the Habsburgs' superior military resources on their side in the struggle against the Turks. Thus it was that the Kingdom of Croatia came within the pale of the Habsburg monarchy.

It was under these circumstances of political dependence that the Croatian nobility clung to the notion of Croatian state-right. They kept alive the memory of the mediaeval Kingdom of Croatia and projected their own

interpretation of the situation in 1102 which had brought the Kingdom of Croatia under the Hungarian king. It had in fact taken twelve years of civil war to settle the Hungarian claim to the Croatian crown, yet the final agreement, the *Pacta Conventa*, had not presented King Kálmán as a conqueror but as the legal successor to the Croatian crown through Helen of Hungary, the daughter of King Bela I of Hungary and the widow of the Croatian King Zvonimir. The Hungarian kings, and after them, the Habsburgs, swore an oath that they would respect and uphold the laws of the Kingdom of Croatia. The position of the Croatian nobles as the political nation was not formally curtailed and a political apparatus continued which gave them direction of the internal affairs of the Kingdom. As members of the sabor, they conducted trials and debated details of administration, defence and finance.

The Croatian nobles jealously guarded the special rights which they obtained because of the supposedly unforced nature of the union of the Kingdom of Croatia with the Kingdom of Hungary. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, they became increasingly assertive and put forward their own candidates for the office of ban. In 1527, they acted independently of the Hungarian nobles and sent their own invitation to Ferdinand of the House of Habsburg, later Emperor Ferdinand I, to succeed Louis II Jagiełło as king of Croatia, an action which bespoke the existence of the Kingdom of Croatia as a state in its own right. Finding themselves subject to another ruling house and part of the great Habsburg monarchy, the members of the Croatian sabor regularly sent deputies to the Hungarian diet demanding that their king safeguard the old laws and

privileges of the Kingdom and seeking reaffirmation of the dignity of the Croatian ban.

The continued existence of the Kingdom of Croatia was threatened, not by direct attacks upon its constitution, but by the steady diminution of its territory. From the mid-thirteenth century, the banate, the area over which the Croatian ban and sabor had jurisdiction, began to be reduced. The Hungarians, once in possession of the Croatian crown, resumed control of Slavonia and administered it as a separate unit within the Kingdom of Hungary. The Slavonian nobles were granted their own ban and sabor and sent representatives to the Hungarian diet until the Habsburg Ferdinand I restored Slavonia to the Kingdom of Croatia. Under its native kings, the Kingdom had been a maritime power with the seat of its authority on the Adriatic coast, but by the fifteenth century it had been cut off from the sea by the Republic of Venice. In 1409, the Venetians purchased from Ladislas of Durazzo, then King of Naples, Hungary and Croatia, the cities of Zadar, Vrana, Novigrad and the island of Pag. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the Venetians were in control of the Croatian littoral from the Zadar peninsula to Omiš with the chain of Adriatic islands from Krk and Cres in the north to Korčula in the south. They also controlled the south side of the bay of Kotor and, from 1420, referred to all these possessions as Dalmatia.[17] The Venetians' expansion was halted by the spread of the Ottoman Empire, but in the Candian war (1645-1669) they managed to add Klis and some other minor places and were in *de facto* possession of the Makarska littoral and Poljica. The Croatian littoral south of the river Zrmanja was divided

between the Venetian Republic and the Ottoman Empire with the Republic of Dubrovnik alone surviving as an independent city state, albeit under Ottoman protection.

The Turkish conquest of the Balkan peninsula began in 1346 with the beginning of Orhan Gazi's conquest of Thrace. In 1389 the Serbs were defeated by the Turks at the battle of Kosovo. 1393 saw the fall of the Kingdom of Bulgaria to the Ottomans. With the occupation of Bosnia in 1463, the Turkish menace loomed within reach of Croatia, the last surviving of the mediaeval South Slav kingdoms. Between 1527 and 1528, the area of the Kingdom of Croatia was reduced from 50 000 km² to 37 000 km². The Turks had reduced this area by 1594 to just 16 800 km². The Kingdom of Croatia had become the *reliquae reliquarum*, the remains of the remains. The 1606 treaty of Zsitvatorok returned to the Croats but little of their lost crown lands.[18]

During the period of the Turkish advance, the whole of the Croatian nobility was engaged in the defence of the kingdom. The area over which they could exercise influence was further reduced by the Habsburgs who took land away from the administration of the sabor to create the Military Frontier, a *cordon sanitaire* under the direct rule of the Imperial War Council (*Hofkriegsrat*).[19] The Croatian nobles resisted this blatant attack upon their sphere of influence. They saw it as the incipient spread of Habsburg centralization within their lands. Slavonia was again lost to them in the course of the seventeenth century as the greater part of it was absorbed into the Military Frontier. Thus it was that

when Pavao Ritter Vitezović was born in 1652, the Kingdom of Croatia was a narrow strip of approximately 18 200 km² with its centre in western Slavonia around Zagreb and extending in a narrow band from the western end of the Drava to the Adriatic.

The search for Croatian identity has so far considered the importance which the Croatian nobility attached to Croatian statehood. They defended their political position and armed themselves through years of concerted struggle against the Turks. Was this concordance bred of a developed national sense or merely of a narrow class interest? The search for national identity among the Croatian élite must consider other evidence outside the immediate political sphere. In particular it must look for evidence of an ethnic consciousness, for the sense of belonging to a nation, for the feelings and emotions towards the nation which the national élite expressed within their high culture.

ii. The search for Croatian identity; literature and scholarship

Language and nation are clearly identified in the words of the sixteenth century Priest Martinac of Grobno: 'And having occupied all of Greece, Bulgaria, Bosnia and Albania, they fell upon the *jazik hrvatski*, the Croatian tongue'.[20] Martinac of Grobno was describing the progress of the Turks through the Balkan peninsula. The phrase the 'Croatian tongue' is used just where the word Croatia or Croatian nation is expected. *Vice versa*, an attack upon the vernacular is often understood as an attack upon the nation. It was the anticipated imposition of Hungarian as the language of tuition

in Croatian schools in the early nineteenth century which galvanised Ljudevit Gaj and the members of the Illyrianist movement into action. Croatian nationalists are now at pains to stress that their vernacular is Croatian not Serbo-Croatian or any similar Yugoslav hybrid. At what point did language cease to be simply a means of communication and become a key element of national identity among the Croats?

During the early modern period Croatian literature in both Latin and the vernacular flourished. Much of this literature was devotional or took its inspiration from the Bible. At the beginning of this new period of Croatian literature, stands Marko Marulić (1450-1524), a noble from Split and pre-eminent among the Croatian humanist writers. He composed an account of the life of 'the holy widow Judith' *u versih hrvatski složena*, written in Croatian verse and achieved an international reputation as a Latin writer for his guide to the principles of good living. In the baroque age, Ivan Gundulić (1589-1638) wrote *Osman*, an epic, and the pastoral *Dubravka* in Croatian.[21] In addition to this literary activity, from the sixteenth century onwards, scholars turned their attention towards the Croatian language and its dialects. The Roman Catholic clergy, under the tutelage of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, worked at the codification of the Croatian language, a task complicated by the existence of three major dialects. Meditations were written in the vernacular for the use of the *Horvaczki narod* at prayer. Grammars and dictionaries were compiled to assist the spread of the Catholic faith. The Jesuit Giacomo Micaglia (1601-1617) compiled a dictionary with the express intention that it might ease the shortage of

priests by providing those under Turkish rule with the means to study Latin and the Croatian vernacular. [22]

This surge of literary activity and scholarly interest in language was the outward sign of a changed attitude to the Croatian vernacular. Written Croatian already had a long history. Certain Croatian priests, the *glagoljaši*, continued using the glagolithic alphabet and Church rites in the vernacular until the sixteenth century when the Roman Church finally succeeded in imposing Latin uniformity. Yet the possession of supra-national Latin as an alternative tongue encouraged the Croatian élite to view their vernacular as more than a simple means of communication. Cultivating the Croatian vernacular could become a patriotic activity. While the Croatian nobles participated in the high baroque culture of the European nobility, the intellectuals voiced fears that Croatian would be forgotten and that its purity was being corrupted by foreign words. Early in the seventeenth century Juraj Baraković complained that while the Germans and Poles honoured their vernacular, the Croats ignored theirs and 'put garlands around the hair of other peoples' Muses'. He looked with nostalgia to the days of Marulić when Croatian had been raised on a par with Latin. The Croatian Muse was 'Like a man who is alive but without a voice/ And being dead alive, no-one recognizes him'. Without their vernacular the Croats would cease to be recognized as a nation. [23]

The creation of a national literature became a matter of international rivalry. It was thought that without a written and published literature, the Croats would be ignored and their language would be despised by other nations. Katarina Zrinski in 1661 expressed her concern that the Croats

would fall behind all other nations in publishing books.[24] A century earlier, Antun Vramec, by his own account, encountered much disdain and scepticism while he was writing his world chronicle in the vernacular. It was, he wrote, his *amor patriae*, his love of his fatherland which inspired him in his work.[25]

A developed sensitivity to the existence of a specific Croatian national character appears in this sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature. This is particular clear in those Croatian works which were adaptions from the work of other foreign writers. The plays of Molière were translated into Croatian and adapted to fit a recognizably Croatian milieu. When Petar Zrinski translated his brother's epic poem *Adrial tengernek Syrenaja* from Hungarian into Croatian, he adapted the work to give it a specifically Croatian character.[26]

History, like literature, also became a patriotic activity. The Croatian readers wanted to read of the past of their own specific nation. Antun Vramec started his world chronicle with an account of the Creation but he gradually narrowed its focus to concentrate on Croatian history, in particular the history of the region around Zagreb where his readers lived. The more critical Ivan Lučić wrote *De Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*, a history of the Kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia published in 1666. It was not sufficient for the inspiring heroes of history to be heroic, they had to be Croatian as well. Ivan Čikulin introduced his account of national *magnanimitas* with the words 'what is not at home, should be sought abroad, therefore what is at home, should not be sought

abroad'.[27] National saints too became a cult. Under the guidance of their Jesuit masters, the pupils at the Zagreb gymnasium acted out the lives of the *indigetes*, the native born saints. The frontispiece of Juraj Rattkay's *Memoria Regum et Banorum regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae* was decorated with cameos of *indigetes*, the same saints as the Franciscan Frane Glavinić had celebrated in his calendar of 1627 and which Julij Klovinj in the 1680s chose to work into a silver missal cover for the bishop of Zagreb.[28]

The Croats' enthusiasm for the past of their nation was combined with an interest in genealogy. Croatian scholars searched for their ancestors in antiquity and found answers in a humanist hybrid of biblical and classical mythology. The Croats believed themselves to be descended from the ancient Illyrians who had inhabited the Balkan peninsula in antiquity.[29] They combined this belief with belief in their membership of the great Slav nation and the common descent of the Slavs. The earliest exponent of the Slavic idea among the Croats was Vinko Pribojević, a Dominican friar who in 1525 addressed the patricians of Hvar on the origins of the Slavs. Under the influence of Polish and Italian humanism, he claimed that the Slavs were the descendants of Thyras the son of Japhet and insisted that all the non-Greek inhabitants of the Balkan peninsula were Slavs.[30] Croatian scholars continued to change and refine these theories of Illyrian descent and Slav brotherhood in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Illyrian became the accepted synonym for the Croats and a collective name for the South Slavs. The Croats took the Illyrian name and applied it to themselves, their language and country.

The Illyrian name appeared on maps.[21] They named their institute at Rome the Institute of St Jerome for the Sons of the Illyrians. Yet this convenient nomenclature posed more problems of national definition. By what criterion was a man to be deemed Illyrian?[22] The library shelves of Croatia became filled with *Illyriana*, abstruse discussions of the descent of the Slavs, the donation of Alexander the Great and the birthplace of Saint Jerome.[23] Just like the Batavian myth among the Dutch, the Croatian élite's Illyrian identity reflected their concern to find and define their own national identity.

This was the society and culture of the baroque into which Pavao Ritter Vitezović was born. The baroque age in northern Croatia can be understood as covering the period from the early seventeenth to the late eighteenth centuries. The exact limits of such a term are always open to dispute but the baroque age serves in the title as a satisfactory way of signifying that part of the early modern age to which Vitezović belonged. Its choice was prompted in particular by the wish to refer to the mental world and the style in which Vitezović worked. Baroque carries with it connotations of both the triumphant Catholic and the heroic martial 'high culture' then at its apogee among the Croat élite. Precisely where Vitezović fitted into this cultural and intellectual milieu awaits examination in the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

The making of a patriot

Programme: *Paulus Ritter Segniensis*

Anagramm: *Petis ensi laurus? Stringe;*
Lauriger stes pennis tuis

Programme: Pavao Ritter of Senj

Anagramm: Do you seek laurels with the sword? Present arms!
By your own quills you will stand decked with laurel.[1]

How is it possible to account for the appearance within the societies of early modern Europe of such scholars as Pavao Ritter Vitezović who engaged in the shaping of their nation's identity?

Pavao Ritter Vitezović was both cause and effect. In the history of Croatian scholarship he is singled out because of his contribution to the development of Croatian political theory. He furnished the Croats with a particular way of understanding who they were. The ideas and theories which he expounded are the subject of the later chapters of this thesis. The present chapter is concerned with Vitezović as an 'effect', as a product of his milieu.

Since there already exists a thorough account of Vitezović's life and background, it seems superfluous to include at this point a formal

biography.[2] Details of his public career are discussed in connection with his writings throughout this study and readers are referred to the Chronology, Appendix One. In the present chapter, the emphasis is less upon Vitezović's material circumstances than upon the mental world which he inhabited. What was the framework of knowledge and belief into which he fitted his own scholarly work? What were the notions of right and wrong which guided his actions? To understand Vitezović's career as a scholar and identity constructor it is necessary to understand his philosophy.

Part One: Knowledge and beliefs.

Vitezović was an educated man of letters as well as a scholar specializing in history and linguistics.[3] He took a particular interest in the natural and mathematical sciences and in the course of his life, he worked closely with two fellows of the Royal Society of London.[4] After completing his formal education at the Jesuit grammar school in Zagreb, he came in the course of his *Wanderjahre* to stay at Wagensberg in Carniola, the home of the eminent natural scientist, Janez Vajkard Valvasor.[4] There he worked as a member of the team of artists and engravers assisting Valvasor in the production of his great studies of Carniola. As well as learning various technical skills, Vitezović studied astronomy and geometry under Valvasor's guidance.[5] Later at Vienna, he received further instruction in astronomy and studied geography and military architecture with Georg Matthias Vischer, the author of a detailed study of his native Styria.[6] While serving on the border commission established after the 1699 Peace of Karlowitz, Vitezović travelled as an adviser in

the entourage of Count Ferdinand Marsigli who was later elected to the Royal Society and who spent many years compiling a survey of the Danubian basin for the Habsburg Emperors.[7]

The world of science to which Valvasor, Fischer and Marsigli belonged had cast its influence over the humanities. Vitezović laboured for years to produce a great encyclopaedia of the Illyrians, an enterprise in the manner of Valvasor's mighty *Die Ehre des Herzogthums Crain*. The surviving outline of Vitezović's project shows the same approach to the ordering and systematizing of information which characterized the science of the day. The interaction between the sciences and humanities was evident also in the burgeoning interest in empirical evidence among historians. The Croatian historian Ivan Lučić made extensive use of original sources. Although Vitezović devoted much scholarly energy to refuting Lučić's conclusions, he nevertheless used Lučić's *De Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae* as his main source for Croatian history.[8] Vitezović made reference to original inscriptions, coins, seals and intaglios. On one occasion, he cited the evidence of a popular song 'such as is sung by the common people at dances'.[9] Vitezović seems to have had direct contact with only one other living historian, the Hungarian Gábor Hevenesi whose approach to original source materials has led to his being considered in the van of a new school of Hungarian historians. Vitezović met Hevenesi at Vienna where they both enjoyed the patronage of Leopold Kollonich. The two men corresponded and lent each other books. When Vitezović feared that Kollonich's patronage was drying up, it was Hevenesi who acted as his mediator.[10]

The influence of scientific empiricism upon Vitezović's work, although evident should not be exaggerated. His interest in original sources was still combined with a trust in established authorities and inherited wisdom which, in modern judgement, makes him an inferior historian to Ivan Lučić.'' Reasoned arguments based on historical precedent and supported by documentary evidence are contained in the same works as colourful accounts from what is now termed mythology.

This apparently easy co-existence of the rational with the fanciful is a characteristic of the seventeenth-century educated mind. Close inspection of Valvasor's detailed engravings reveals witches hovering on broom-sticks above an otherwise still recognizable Carniolan landscape. Vitezović like so many of his contemporaries combined his serious interest in astronomy with the compilation of horoscopes for his friends and patrons. There is little to indicate how much of this matter was superstition and how much mere diversion. In the case of Vitezović's prophetic *Lado hervacki iliti Sibila*, a curious and now impenetrable guide to predicting the future, a measure of faith in the system would seem prerequisite for any subsequent entertainment.'[12] There is besides in the corpus of his work much apparently quasi-magical material contrived solely as diversion and to enliven his works. Vitezović was fascinated by various forms of letter and number magic. He hid the dates of publication in chronograms at the front of his books. He and his friends played with and speculated upon the numerical values of names. He was a prolific and ingenious composer of anagrams. Such puzzles were part of the written culture of the day and had a part to play in the cultivation of friends and patrons.'[13]

Vitezović's correspondence bears testimony to the near continuous exchange of letters between himself, his friends and patrons. Greetings were exchanged at Easter, Christmas, birthdays and name-days and often accompanied by gifts, books, manuscripts, humorous verses, anagrams, acrostics, puzzles and other ingenious conceits.

These varied and curious writings lie for the most part outside the range of this present study of identity construction. To be reminded of them, though, serves to warn against disregarding the distance between the modern and the seventeenth century mind. Apprised of such a capacity for diverse beliefs, the modern reader should be prepared for the many inconsistencies and contradictions which exist in the corpus of Vitezović's scholarly writings.

Part Two: Moralities.

This present section considers Vitezović's moral world and the philosophies which shaped it. In particular it is concerned with the position of the *patria*, the fatherland, within his system of values, since it was by his own account his *amor in patriam*, his love for his fatherland, which directed him in his public and scholarly career. To the modern reader, his writings are animated by a compelling devotion which seems very like patriotism. But is this an anachronistic, romantic reading, encouraged by the word *amor*? What was the character of seventeenth-century *amor in patriam*? Was it a principle, the product of reason? Did it have any emotional content?

It is the amorality and immorality perceived within a society which set its moralizers moralizing. Social criticism is a recurrent theme in the writings of Pavao Ritter Vitezović. His account of the contemporary world focuses on the Croatian élite's betrayal of its traditions. His historical writings are weighty with moral lessons and examples intended worthy of emulation. Later chapters will elaborate on these themes to show that it was often while he was ostensibly moralizing that he tackled the various aspects of Croatian identity. The present concern is to show how Vitezović was influenced in his career by current moral theories.

Vitezović's autobiographical and self-revelatory writings are full of moral hauteur. He carefully created the impression of himself as one totally alienated from the society in which he lived. So successful was he in his self-mythologizing that later generations have used his claims to reinforce their own romantic picture of Vitezović as the isolated and neglected genius. A great part of Vitezović's stance was a literary posture having its origins in the moral indignation of the Roman satirists.[14] At the age of thirty, before he had seriously started his career as a writer, he was already describing himself as the victim of hostile Fate. In this early attempt at a moral autobiography, he took consolation in the thought that it was the good poets who were most often overwhelmed by the indifference of corrupt societies and he compared his lot to the exiled poet Ovid.[15] Elsewhere he complained that his homeland hated educated men.[16] In brief, the society in which he found himself was inimical to the man of virtue. Here in Vitezović's writings is the precursor in the classical tradition

of the romantic *Weltschmerz* which was later to haunt so many young *mitteleuropäische* intellectuals.

One document however does survive which shows Vitezović making a positive exposition of his own morality rather than simply defining himself against the corruption of others. In 1710, he delivered a speech in his own defence while on trial for, among other charges, the misappropriation of property and public funds.[17] The speech contains an account of his public career and, what is yet more valuable for the present discussion, a rationale of his life's conduct. Vitezović supported his defence with quotations from the New Testament and the Church Doctors, but above all from Cicero, Seneca and the sixteenth century Flemish philosopher, Justus Lipsius. The use he made of these latter authorities reveals a moral code inspired by the ethical teachings of the stoic and the neo-stoic philosophers.[18]

Stoicism, now associated chiefly with its dispassionate moral code, had offered a complete way of comprehending the universe. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the teachings of the ancient stoic philosophers had been revived and revised to create the truly humanist synthesis of classical and Christian philosophy termed neo-stoicism.

Neo-stoicism exercised an influence in many fields of European intellectual activity. This influence is broadly reflected in the corpus of Vitezović's work. Stoicism was an aristocratic philosophy which Cicero had associated with the days of the Scipios, an ideal period of

aristocratic government. Among the nobilities of Vitezović's day, stoic political theory had found favour since it offered a way of tempering the influence of central authority, of playing Seneca to their ruler's Nero. In Hungary and Croatia, the political writings of Justus Lipsius were especially influential among the magnates. The stoics' advocacy of *constantia in publicis malis* was as relevant to the Croats and Hungarians as it had been to the Dutch who had earlier weathered a period of political instability and civil strife.'[19] The full effect of neo-stoicism upon Vitezović as he formulated the Croats' political position under the Habsburgs is discussed in Chapter Five below. 'A gospel of endurance rather than hope', stoicism was a philosophy which could find favour with the yet beleaguered Croats of Vitezović's generation.[20]

The stoics had understood the universe to be a single deterministic whole. This belief was reflected in their scholarship, where they strove to give a complete account of reality stripped of metaphysical subtleties. The revival of stoicism and its methods in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had effected a change in scholarly approach, emphasizing the scientific and encouraging the gathering and marshalling of facts in the manner of Valvasor's and Vitezović's encyclopaedias. The order of the stoics' universe was ordained by a beneficent Providence; they had combined the study of astronomy with astrology, searching the stars to learn the future. The same deterministic view of the universe is found in Vitezović's work. Contemplating the trials of his own life and the calamities which beset Croatia, he likewise set them within the providential order. One of several contradictions inherent in the stoics'

beliefs was that while they believed the universe to be determined, they insisted no less than Counter-Reformation Catholic theologians upon the autonomy of the human will. The same contradiction troubled the minds of Vitezović's contemporaries and he was careful to append avowals of good Christian purpose to his own works of divination.[21]

The moral code which Vitezović claimed had directed his career had at its core the cultivation of personal virtue. He concluded with Justus Lipsius that 'the highest good is a good soul which knows itself to be good'. Hedged round by his detractors at Zagreb, he had found comfort in the knowledge of virtue's objectiveness and therefore its invulnerability.[22] Since, for the stoic, virtue is the sole good, the mundane is of no account. Vitezović accordingly professed his disdain for worldly wealth and turned against his accusers in a vicious and general attack upon the morals of the clergy and lawyers. Those who corrected public morals should, he pointed out, shun *avaritia* as the enemy of justice. The circumstances surrounding his trial explain his choice of target: it was the Zagreb cathedral chapter which was challenging Vitezović's right to the estate of one of its canons. Again in making these attacks upon the clergy, Vitezović was careful to support his case with quotations from the New Testament and from Justus Lipsius including the latter's observation that 'ambition and greed are often wrapped in a mantle of religion'.[23]

The Roman stoics had preached a doctrine of universal love very like that of Christian teaching. In this way, stoicism and neo-stoicism were

inimical to such a narrow and particular sentiment as patriotism. The true stoic was a 'citizen of the world. Love of one's country indicated too great an attachment to the mundane being but an extension of love for the material benefits and associations of the *patria*, the fatherland.[24] At the climax of his defence speech, Vitezović announced his readiness to go into exile. What Croatia should have offered him, he could find elsewhere. Quoting Seneca, he exclaimed, 'I am not the son of this one corner alone; the whole world is my fatherland'.[25]

This is apparantly a magnificent eschewal in the stoic tradition of the particular bonds of the fatherland. It sits ill in the mouth of one whose life, the evidence suggests, had been devoted to his *patria*. This is precisely the calculated effect. If Vitezović and his audience really had adhered to the stoic ideal, the point would have fallen flat. His whole defence speech was designed to shame his detractors, its crux being that he had rendered exemplary service throughout his life to both his king and his *patria* and that he therefore deserved better treatment than he was receiving. To prove his point, he treated the court to a detailed account of his involvement in public affairs from the age of twenty-nine. 'For my fatherland, not my own home [i.e. private good] I have lived so many years in assiduous labour and much danger to life', he exclaimed. Later, he continued, 'the goad for this writing, and I say this religiously, has been a sincere devotion to the commonweal and the good of the king'.[26] His accusers served but to illustrate the moral bankruptcy of the age.

The moral imperative to engage in public life, without which Vitezović

could not have expected to work on the court's sympathies, was derived from Christian and from stoic ethics. Since to love one's neighbour was to fulfill the law, it was the duty of the Christian to attend to the commonweal. The stoics had recognized that most men had no choice but to pursue virtue within the world. Rather than cast mankind adrift in the mundane without guidance, the stoic philosophers had formulated advice on the conduct of man within society. Thus it was that stoicism developed within it a practical and lastingly influential strain of political thought. The stoics came to teach that to be a good citizen was part of being a man of virtue. Vitezović could accordingly remind the court of the merit of his public career with a quotation from Cicero: 'in the whole of human affairs there is nothing more splendid nor more outstanding than to deserve well on account of the commonweal.'[27]

So far, the discussion has examined how Vitezović's philosophy was influenced by the teachings of the stoics and the neo-stoics. Service to the *patria* has been shown to be an obligation, and an aspect of a man's duty to pursue virtue within the context of human society. But this reasoned account is inadequate as a complete explanation of Vitezović's *amor in patriam*. Turning away from formal doctrine, it is time to look more widely at morality and the *patria* in the society in which Vitezović moved.

Vitezović was a member of a patriotic national élite. Within north Croatia he belonged to a circle connected with the government of the Kingdom. He enjoyed the patronage and friendship of ban Nikola Erdödy

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and various of the vice-bans and bishops of Zagreb who held authority in the ban's absence.[28] These friends and others in their circle encouraged Vitezović in his work, gave him money and sometimes directed him in his choice of subject-matter. Vitezović in turn acknowledged their generosity with eulogies and anagrams and in the dedications of his books. His closest friend and patron at Zagreb was Aleksander Mikulić, bishop of Zagreb 1688-1694.[29] Their friendship seems to have dated from the days of their attendance at the Zagreb grammar school. Mikulić took an interest in antiquities and secured the purchase of Valvasor's library after the latter was rendered bankrupt by the cost of producing *Die Ehre des Herzogthums Crain*. His greatest service to Vitezović was when he helped him to restore the printing-press which had been abandoned in the bishop's palace. Appointed manager of the Kingdom's press in 1694, Vitezović briefly enjoyed an assured income until 1707 when fire destroyed his home and with it the printing-press.[30]

The letters and verses which this circle of friends and patrons exchanged are full of professions of love for Croatia and the *patria*. They praised each other for their *amor in patriam* raising it among the highest virtues. Vitezović's first published poem to survive is an effusive eulogy of Aleksander Mikulić, at the time still an archdeacon of the Zagreb chapter. Mikulić had recently returned from Vienna where he had been representing the interests of the Kingdom. Vitezović first praised him for the execution of his religious duties before exclaiming:

Oh! Love for the *patria* transcends all other loves;
The man who loves the *patria* is a man who is worthy of love,
He who is aflame in his entirety with a fierce love for his *patria*
Is a man for whom the *patria* is likewise wholly aflame,[31]

It was as evidence of the author's love for his fatherland that Vitezović and his friends judged each others' literary work. Nor did the *patria* have to be Croatia; *amor in patriam* was laudable in itself. Vitezović was impressed by how Valvasor had served his native Carniola by his scholarship. Indeed it was most certainly Valvasor's example which brought him to see scholarship as a public and patriotic service. In his commendation of *Die Ehre des Herzogthums Crain*, he wrote:

> Valvasor diligent in his art has given his fatherland
> Of so much report, for the wide world to see,
> So thereby the splendour of the fatherland,
> Shines through the candour of its son.[32]

Away from his defence speech, the *amor in patriam* which Vitezović described lo ses much of its dry rationality and with its emotional excesses bears greater resemblance to romantic patriotism. He wrote of it as innate, 'a pious liking for one's native soil' bestowed by nature, a view quite contrary to the orthodox stoic view of patriotism as the product of convention and habit. It was an instinctive, unconditional love: 'to each man is his fatherland dear, even though it is without bread or wine'. The *patria* inspired *amor* simply because it was the *patria*. It was accordingly to this emotion what he appealed in the prefaces to his works, confident that his readers were endowed with that *ingenuitas*, that nobility of mind which loved the fatherland to be the subject of praise.[33]

Further evidence for the position of the *patria* in the moral order of the day is found in the pocket book of maxims which Vitezović printed under his name in 1703. Since the maxims, which take the form of rhyming couplets, are idiomatic and in the vernacular, the suggestion has been that

they belong to oral and popular culture. The *Priricsnik, Aliti Razliko Mudroszti Cvitje* however is not a collection of proverbs taken by Vitezović from the lips of the *Volk* in the manner of the brothers Grimm. It belongs firmly within the literary traditions of humanism and to a genre inspired by the *Golden Book* of Marcus Aurelius. Certain of the maxims in the *Priricsnik* are evidently glosses of sayings still familiar from the Bible and classical literature. Such aphorisms in the vernacular and in Latin were part of educated discourse. Justus Lipsius had made use of maxims to great effect and had inspired many imitators. Vitezović used them in his defence speech and in his prefaces. He and his friends quoted them to each other.[34] The preface claims that the *Priricsnik* was intended as a treasury of morally improving gobbets, an aid to the cultivation of 'that virtue whence every good is derived'. The reader expecting this very stoic purpose to be reflected in the contents of the maxims themselves is not disappointed.

The *patria* is the fourth theme in the *Priricsnik*, coming after God, *Cesar*, i.e. the temporal ruler, and virtue. On the latter theme, the advice given is:

Wealth binds honour,
Slowly it stretches, blunts and breaks the sword.[35]

The maxim is redolent of stoic principles and by reference to the sword implies that to offer defence is a part of virtue. This eases the transition to the subject of the *patria* where the inspiration whether direct or indirect is unmistakably the words of Horace: *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*. The maxims in the *Priricsnik* run thus:

What is better than for a son
To defend his fatherland?
How beautiful it is to live for the fatherland!
How glorious to die for it![36]

Such sentiments could not but resonate with a nobility which for the past two centuries had expended its wealth and its manpower fighting and dying in defence of the Kingdom of Croatia.

Pro Deo, Rege et Patria, for God, king and fatherland; the phrase recurs throughout the corpus of Vitezović's work.[37] With it he bestowed the accolade *pater patriae*; no other motive stood higher in the moral order. Service to God, king and fatherland was the basis of the chivalric code by which the great Croatian heroes of the Turkish wars had lived. According to tradition, Nikola Šubić Zrinski had rushed forth to his death at Siget offering his soul to God, his loyalty to the King and his body to the *patria*. Vitezović's *amor in patriam* had its origins not only in the teachings of the stoics but in the military and chivalric ethos of the Croatian nobility which surrounded him from his birth.

Pavao Ritter Vitezović was born at Senj into a military family with a long history of service to the Habsburgs. The Ritters were originally from Alsace and were one of many families to have come to Croatia during the reign of the Emperor Ferdinand I to fight the Turks.[38] His father and uncles had seen active service and had been held prisoner by the Turks. The family's social rise had been slow and their years of loyal service had brought neither wealth nor prominence.[39] It was not until

1653, a year after Vitezović's birth, that the Ritters were recognized by the sabor as members of the minor nobility of the Kingdom of Croatia. There was nothing unusual in the Ritter family's services; the defence of the Kingdom was the duty of the whole nobility. Accordingly, Vitezović, although already bent upon a career as writer and scholar, spent part of his *Wanderjahre* acquiring those military skills which would equip him for active service.[40] In 1683, while Kara Mustapha and his army besieged Vienna, Vitezović joined the regiment of Petar Ricciardi, serving as a cavalry officer until 1685.[41] Meanwhile his intellectual mentor Valvasor served as captain of a cavalry regiment in Carniola and that exceptional priest and scholar Juraj Križanić met his death at the very heart of the glorious events at Vienna.

The historian Andreas Angyal remarks that 'Baroque exuberance on the one hand, the military tradition on the other characterized the morphology of the Croatian aristocratic baroque culture.'[42] Vitezović gloried in his family's history of military service. In one of his early verses which illustrates the common ground of the chivalric and stoic ethos, he exclaimed with pride:

My parents did not search for riches,
Nor did my grandfather and great-grandfather seek a castle,
For them the martial glory of the heart was always,
More than the private rewards of gold,
Riches perish, they are no use to any man after death,
Exceptional fame thrives for all time,[43]

He celebrated the military tradition of Senj and was proud to be associated with such a heroic town, 'the wrestling ground of Mars'.[44] The wars with the Turks furnished him with his early themes and images.

In a letter to a school-friend he declared the strength of his devotion, 'I would be prepared to suffer Turkish chains for you!'.[45] Far more grandiose is his epic *Odiljenje Sigetsko* published a year after the raising of the siege of Vienna and telling of the earlier siege at Siget which more than any other incident in the years of warfare had come to embody the heroism of the Croatian nobility at arms.

It was this heroic world of chivalry which provided Vitezović with his own self image. His family name Ritter, the German for knight, was an invitation for puns, the most ingenious of which were supplied by Valvasor. His young friend, he wrote, was thrice a knight: a knight by name, a knight in standing because of his cavalry service and apprenticeship in a order of chivalry and last a knight by vocation since, as a poet, he was a knight of Apollo and a rider of Pegasus.[46] The idea appealled to Vitezović and he cast himself as a knight whose weapon was the pen not the sword and who would defend his *patria* not on the battle-field but on paper.[47] As a scholar-patriot he could embody a reconciliation between learning and warfare.

* * *

This chapter has been concerned to provide the moral and intellectual context of Vitezović's work as a scholar and patriot occupied with questions of national identity. It has shown how Vitezović's own moral code was derived from the ethical teachings of the stoics. This scholarly code harmonized with the chivalric code which the Croatian

nobility had evolved against the backdrop of Turkish wars. Particular attention has been given to the position of the *patria* within these moral codes. Certain key themes which recur through his work have been introduced: the providential order; moral decay and decline; the pursuit of the commonweal; loyalty to God, king and *patria*.

This account does not explain the course which Vitezović took in his career as a scholar and writer. He was after all one of a circle of patriots within a patriotic élite but *amor in patriam* drove them to pursue other callings. Undoubtedly the example of Valvasor was important in persuading Vitezović that he could direct his own scholarly disposition to the good of his *patria*. The image of the knight with a pen is one of defence. The next chapter examines the threats which Vitezović believed would overwhelm Croatia and which conditioned his scholarly response. Before that, it is interesting to speculate upon certain peculiar circumstances in Vitezović's own life which may have sharpened his awareness of identity.

While this present study is concerned with the evolution of a Croatian national identity, it cannot disregard the fact that the Croats at this period were divided by pronounced regional differences and loyalties. This regionalism and 'regional patriotism' was apparent among the élite. Vitezović was proud to be associated with his home-town and signed himself 'the noble and courageous master Pavao Vitezović or Ritter, noble of Croatia and Senj'. In his dictionary he distinguished between two uses of *domovina*, literally 'homeland' but used as a Croatian equivalent of

patria: there was the *patria terra* or *domovina ottaçbina*, the fatherland, and the *patria germana* or *prava domovina*, the home or place of birth.[45]

Vitezović did not grow up in a homogenous culture. At Senj, besides the merchants who visited the port, there were the many German officers and soldiers of the Military Frontier. Valvasor delighted in describing his friend's birthplace as mysterious, 'the home of brave soldiers and fire-eaters' and he gave a long account of the former community of Uskoks.[46] When, at the age of thirteen, Vitezović left Senj for the Jesuit grammar school at Zagreb, he moved from the Italianate culture of the Adriatic coast to the Central European culture of north Croatia. He also moved from one dialect region to another. The difficulty which a Čakavian speaker would experience at Kajkavian-speaking Zagreb is illustrated by an anecdote from the eighteenth century; a certain priest from Senj was not admitted as a canon into the Zagreb chapter because he did not know the Kajkavian dialect sufficiently well.[47] Vitezović would at first have had similar difficulties in making himself understood. His *Wanderjahre*, first in congenial Italy, then in Carniola would have continued to making him aware of differences in identities.

How insular and closed Zagreb society could be, at least against those who had incurred its displeasure, is evident in the background to Vitezović's trial. First and foremost the members of the Zagreb Chapter, in turning against Vitezović, were objecting to the Emperor's high-handedness in disposing of the estate of one of their members when the estate should, they believed, have come automatically to them; the Emperor Leopold had

made Vitezović the beneficiary of the estate of a mentally weak canon of the Zagreb Chapter. The Chapter were joined in their protests by a distant relative of the canon who was a member of the local minor nobility. But Vitezović was not simply a victim of Croatian opposition to imperial interference. He was regarded as an usurper and an 'alien' usurper at that. From his defence speech, it is evident that certain of his detractors were seizing upon the German origins which his family name Ritter betrayed. That he also came from Senj hinted of connections with the Military Frontier and the imperial plantation of the much reviled German officers. Vitezović's retort to those who thought him 'not of this soil' was a sharp observation upon the origins of the nobility of Croatia. 'Which', he asked, 'of the most noble families had lived within the borders of this Kingdom for even three centuries?'[51]

The Ritters were one of many families descended from German soldiers who had been drawn to Senj by the opportunities presented by service in the Military Frontier and who had married into local families. Certainly by the time of Vitezović's birth, the Ritters were totally assimilated into the Croatian population. That he had, grudgingly, to learn German while he stayed in Carniola, shows that he had grown up without any practical knowledge of the language of his forefathers.[52] There is irony in the tactics adopted by his detractors. Vitezović had throughout his life championed the cause of the Senjani, the citizens of Senj, in their struggles with officers of the Imperial War Council. It is probable that his adoption of the Croatianized form of his family name in the early 1680s was in part the result of a wish to disassociate himself from the

Germans at Senj.[53] His own foreign ancestry must have played a part in directing his attention towards questions of nationality and identity. His family name Ritter suggested an ambiguity about his nationality which he did not feel. His adoption of the form Vitezović bespeaks his positive sense of his own Croatian identity.

After this speculation upon Vitezović's individual formation, it is time to examine his own account of the crisis to which he, as a good patriot, was responding.

CHAPTER THREE

Croatia in decline.

Ad ea me tempora insuperabilium Fatorum ordo relegavit; quibus alterum Heraclitum Philosophum aut paritura aut profecto conductura fuerat Croatia.

The order of the insuperable Fates relegated me to these times for which Croatia should either have borne or in truth hired another Heraclitus the philosopher.[1]

The term 'identity construction', used with respect to national identities, implies that nations are built, not fabricated or invented. Construction conveys the idea of a deliberate creative act in which national identities are pieced together from building material already in existence. It also implies the existence of identity builders, the human agents who lay the foundations, select and arrange the material from which the identity is built. Pavao Ritter Vitezović is an example of just such an identity builder.

The terms identity construction and nation building reflect a modern understanding of the emergence of nations which is quite alien to Vitezović's conception of his life's work. His concern was always less for the *natio*, nation or *gens*, people than for the *patria*, fatherland. Croatia, the *patria*, appears in Vitezović's writings as an entity for the welfare of which the Croats are collectively responsible. He saw his own

task, not to construct a nation, but to present *Croatia rediviva*. Translated as 'Croatia revived', *Croatia rediviva* immediately associates Vitezović's task with that of 'national revival', a term familiar since the nineteenth century and the age of nationalism. 'Croatia revived' therefore may run the risk of encouraging an anachronistic approach to Vitezović's work. Yet he does indeed seem to anticipate with his choice of wording not only the language of the nineteenth-century romantic nationalists bent on national revival but also their conception of the present state of the nation as one of unconsciousness from which it must be revived, awoken or, in the language of the Croatian 'revival', reborn. The contrast between the present and the future state, between death and life, sleeping and awaking contained within these metaphors from the nationalist era sit comfortably in the baroque context of the play between dark and light. *Rediviva* though, with its strong religious connotations, reflects a particularly Catholic and baroque, rather than romantic, mind. It is late-Latin for 'resurrected' and was regularly applied to Christ after the Resurrection. Used of Croatia it suggests that the *patria* possesses both body and soul. The English translation, 'Croatia resurrected' implies that the new life will be everlasting whereas 'revived' cannot dispel the fear that death will come again.*

Vitezović saw his task as being to restore Croatia to life, but this raises the question of the pre-resurrection state of Croatia. There are problems with extending too far the image of *Croatia rediviva*. The translation 'Croatia resurrected' presupposes death as the previous condition, yet Vitezović regarded Croatia not so much as being dead but

rather moribund. This chapter examines Vitezović's perceptions of the pre-resurrection state of Croatia and what it meant for his *patria* to be moribund.

Part One: Croatia plorans

Vitezović assumed the role of the chronicler of Croatia's sufferings. For two centuries, he lamented, Croatia had been the victim of a harsh and unrelenting fate which had brought it to the very brink of destruction. The main source in his writings for this theme is the elegy *Plorantis Croatiae saecula duo* which was published in 1703. The elegy is a detailed chronicle of Croatia's declining fortunes, spoken in the first person by the *Croatia plorans* of the title. It describes an accumulation of misery, with woe heaped upon woe from the beginning of the sixteenth century until the end of the seventeenth, with the 1699 Peace of Karlowitz, which ended the Long War, treated as a climax to Croatia's sufferings. This elegiac treatment of Croatia's years of warfare which emphasizes the sorrow of war is the reverse of Vitezović's earlier youthful and boisterous celebrations of the heroics of warfare, written in the decade after the raising of the siege of Vienna in 1683.[3] The negative and positive views of warfare could be as dependent upon genre types as upon circumstances. During the 1680s when Vitezović wrote encomia praising the glories of war and the victories of the allies, he was already developing the theme of *Croatia plorans*, of Croatia's history as a history of suffering, an approach which dwelt upon the horror not the glory of war.[4] The elegiac *Plorantis Croatiae* of 1703 appears to have been conceived in the 1680s, since what was probably an earlier version with the title *Regiae Croatiae Lachrymae*

was mentioned in 1689 by Valvasor in the list of Vitezović's works waiting to go to the press.[4] Already in 1681, Vitezović had written *Lamentatio Segniae*, an elegiac account of the sufferings of Senj which contains several themes later developed in *Plorantis Croatiae*. Valvasor's list shows that, in the course of the 1680s, Vitezović extended the narration of *Lamentatio Segniae* into a four part history of Senj's suffering.

The theme of *Croatia plorans* matched the unremittingly sombre mood prevailing among the Croatian nobility after the Peace of Karlowitz. *Plorantis Croatiae* is Vitezović's finest work of poetry and as a chronicle it remains a useful source for the history of the times, since Vitezović recorded the minor incidents which brought suffering to daily life at a local level as well as his response to the great events which had bearing upon the course of Croatian history. Chapters Five and Six below consider how *Plorantis Croatiae* and the other works from Vitezović's post-Karlowitz cycle reflect the response of the Croatian nobility to the terms of the Peace of Karlowitz. In this present chapter, *Plorantis Croatiae* is considered, with other minor verses and letters, as an account of Croatia's decline.

One approach to Vitezović's conception of the plight of his *patria* is through the various images and devices which he employed to describe Croatia. These images depict Croatia as helpless in the face of overwhelming external forces. These forces are sometimes impartial and insuperable like those of nature. In one of his earliest uses of imagery,

Vitezović, born on the Adriatic coast, wrote of Croatia as the ship-wrecked *patria*; Croatia, the national vessel, tossed on the violent seas of her history, has been broken to pieces.[5] Another, perennial, representation of Croatia was interpreted by Vitezović to show Croatia as the playground of the capricious Fates; Croatia is a white and red chess board, red with the blood which has flowed from the games which the Fates have played across its squares.[6] In another class of imagery, Croatia's suffering is presented on a human scale and as the result of partial human agents. The material for these images is drawn from the Croats' experiences of prolonged and brutal warfare against the Turks. Croatia, in one image of this type, has been rendered, after the partition of its lands, into a dismembered body.[7] But to drive home the imagery of Croatia as a helpless victim, Vitezović most frequently presented Croatia as a woman. Croatia is in turn the mother weeping for her lost sons, the helpless woman, reduced to poverty, a bound slave, and a woman who has lost her beauty through the ravages of war and plague.[8]

Such images belonged to an established literary genre which decried the destruction and folly of war.[9] Vitezović composed many detailed descriptions of the devastation which had been wreaked upon Croatia. At his most Virgilian, he would contrast the times of peace and prosperity, represented by the farmer lovingly tending his native soil, with the times of war when the countryside was laid to waste.[10] The suffering of Croatia though, was more than a literary construct. While travelling with the Border Commission established after the Peace of Karlowitz, Vitezović

had witnessed for himself the devastated landscape of Croatia and in the formal dedication of *Plorantis Croatiae* he drew upon his own recollections:

> The numerous castles on sunny hills, the citadels on lofty rocks have been deserted, villages, towns, cities, the shrines of the gods in convenient and pleasant sites, abandoned, overturned so that covered with grass, creepers and woods for the most part they have preserved scarcely a trace and many today not even their name. Thus far have the unremitting storms of war, now for so many centuries, been wont to lay to waste Croatia; in that the fields have been stripped of their farmers, the towns and cities of their citizens, the castles of their nobles, the cathedrals of their primates, the churches of their priests either struck down, slaughtered or dragged away into perpetual slavery, or else driven back and put to flight, the region will present a most wretched appearance, an appearance to be bewailed not just by citizens throughout the ages, not only deserving the compassion of its neighbours but deserving the commiseration of the whole Christian world.'[10]

The perpetrators of this physical destruction were the Turks who had borne down upon Croatia like the icy north wind, as rapacious for booty as a bear for honey.'[11] The Turks were portrayed by Vitezović as stock characters embodying evil, the antithesis of the Christian ideal. In *Plorantis Croatiae*, they are characterized by greed, cruelty, pride and swelling arrogance. Their barbarity is shown above all by their hatred of Christianity and the Christian values for which Croatia, by tradition the *antemurale Christianitatis*, the bulwark of Christendom, stands. This theme, present in the dedication, is developed within the text where the infidel Turks vandalize the House of God, make bonfires of holy relics and on occasion toss the local clergy into the river.'[12]

Vitezović described it as being the nature of the Turk to wage war since he delighted in bloodshed. The Turk will seek peace only when it is in his interests to do so. When in 1615 trouble in Persia obliged the

Turks to defend their own territory rather than seek *peregrina*, foreign land, the Porte in Constantinople was eager to seek a truce with King Matthias of Hungary which was supposed to endure for twenty years. *Croatia plorans* explains that the Turks are wary of becoming embroiled in too many conflicts since 'the Barbarian knows that the boar was most often lacerated by more than one dog'. Yet the Turk knew no honour and no sooner was peace concluded in 1615 than the Turks once more started setting fire to Croatian villages; 'By so much faith is the Thracian held'.[13] The lessons from the past which showed the instability of all peace-treaties with the Porte led *Croatia plorans* to predict that the peace secured at Karlowitz in 1699 would not last.[14] The essence of Croatia's reasoning is that she will only be safe and know true peace when the Turkish menace has been destroyed.

Against such a common foe and enemy of Christendom as the Turk, the Christian nations might be expected to unite. Yet *Croatia plorans* too often has found herself deserted by her supposed allies who seem indifferent to her fate. Isolation and abandonment were established themes in Croatian and Hungarian literature; the tragedy at Siget acquired a keenness in its telling from the knowledge that Zrinski, the Croatian Leonidas, was left waiting for relief from the Habsburgs, relief which never came.[15] Vitezović developed the theme of abandonment in *Plorantis Croatiae* so that the allies were held to be as responsible for Croatia's plight as the avowed enemy, the Turks. Writing after the Peace of Karlowitz, he claimed, in the voice of *Croatia plorans*, that rivalry and personal ambition had thwarted the formation of a united Christian

coalition at a time when the Turks could easily have been driven from the Balkans. He decried the years of civil war as the embodiment of self-interest, exemplifying the pursuit of personal ambition at the expense of the commonweal and to the advantage of the Turks.[16]

Foremost among these fickle 'allies' were the Venetians whom Vitezović portrayed as working in collusion with the Turks. Past-masters at self-seeking duplicity, the Venetians all too readily concluded peace treaties with the enemy at a time when they should be bringing assistance to their neighbours. Of the 1540 treaty with the Turks for which the Venetians were obliged to pay dearly, *Croatia plorans* exclaims:

> But when a faithful neighbour ought to have brought single-minded assistance to a neighbour,
> By which he might procure the razing of a common peril
> Venice lays down her arms, entering into a peace with the Turks
> Which she purchases with such tribute,
> Thus does each man look out privately for his own home
> No-one cares for his neighbour, no-one now for the commonweal.'[17]

Vitezović's antipathy towards the Venetians had its roots in his Senj origins since Venice was a chronic rival of Senj. In his writings, he treated Senj as a microcosm of Croatia. For the year 1613, Vitezović gave a lengthy account of Senj's heroic past when the town had stood alone against the Turks and long before that had maintained peace along the Croatian and Italian shores. *Croatia plorans* then asks:

> Ought Senj then to have been fearful of her friends,
> Of those joined to her by religion?
> But the time will come, it will come, when the Turk
> Will slip away, too little severe and irksome to the Venetians
> Whose friendship is not what a friend pledges.'[18]

Plorantis Croatiae is ostensibly a plea to Christendom for a continuing

crusade to drive the infidel Turk from Europe. As such, it is in accord with the political purpose of Vitezović's post-Karlowitz cycle of writings, which was to direct the foreign policy of the Emperor and the Viennese court towards the east and to hasten the further liberation of Croatian lands and the restoration of the mediaeval Kingdom of Croatia within its mediaeval boundaries. The urgency of his proposals stemmed from his perception of a third 'external threat' to Croatia; the Inner Austrian War Council based at Graz and its ambitions to absorb liberated Croatian territory into the Military Frontier, away from the jurisdiction of the Croatian ban and sabor. Vitezović's fears for Croatian sovereignty in the face of Habsburg centralizing ambitions are not apparent in *Plorantis Croatiae*. Rather they colour the mood of the *Lamentatio Segniae* and certain of his lesser works and letters.

The surviving manuscript of *Lamentatio Segniae* was written in 1681, or shortly afterwards, when Vitezović attended the Hungarian diet at Sopron as the representative of the Senj town council. At Sopron, he had presented the diet with the grievances of the Senjani against the officers of the Military Frontier and he had sought a guarantee of the rights and privileges which were due to Senj as a Royal Free town. During the 1670s, in the aftermath of the Conspiracy of the Magnates, relations between the Senjani and the German officers of the Military Frontier had grown worse. The Croatian ban, Petar Zrinski, had held the post of great captain at Senj. After his complicity in the conspiracy had been revealed, the Senjani had been sent Count Johann Joseph Herberstein as their new grand captain. Herberstein, who came from a

prominent Styrian family, recognized the strong historical links of the Zrinski family with the region and set about breaking any local disaffection which might exist. The Senjani's resistance to the demands of the German officers of the Frontier had served only to confirm his suspicions that the district was a hotbed of opposition to the Emperor.[19]

While acting as Senj's representative at the diet at Sopron, Vitezović duly inveighed against Herberstein, perhaps forgetting that only a few years earlier, at the time when the Senjani were most belaboured, he had sought to be introduced to him as 'one who provides young men for vacant places'.[20] 'Harder than the tyrant Turk', Vitezović wrote of Herberstein in 1682, 'for he has the savage heart of Nero', and later, 'He never harms the true enemies of Christians/ But he harms Christ's and the Emperor's people'.[21] These lines from a verse letter echo the sentiments of *Lamentatio Segniae* where Vitezović identified the officers of the Inner Austrian War Council as an enemy group which had brought the Senjani greater grief than their conventional enemies, 'Turkish barbary' and 'Venice with its long fleet'. The liberties, laws, privileges, name and reputation of Senj have been annihilated, its war widows and orphans are neglected. At the very heart of Senj's grievances, though, is the appropriation of land by the War Council. Senj complains that towns which the Senjani had won back from the Turk in a 'long and bloody struggle' had been appropriated to the 'coffers' of its guards. Senj mentions Herberstein by name and holds him responsible for the appropriation of what was in effect Senj's empire, towns which were once part of one body with Senj at the head.[22]

Vitezović continued to champion the cause of the Senjani throughout his life. Shortly before he died, he prepared a petition presenting their case to the Emperor. His silence in *Plorantis Croatiae* on the Senjani's grievances during the 1670s and the threat from the Inner Austrian War Council is perhaps explained by a desire not to offend his dedicatee for he dedicated his long elegy to none other than Herbersteins/nephew who was then President of the Inner Austrian War Council at Graz.[23] Vitezović offered the verse as a testimony of gratitude for the kindness which Herberstein had shown towards him while working on the commission to determine the borders between the Habsburg, Ottoman and Venetian empires in 1699. At a time when Vitezović believed his fortunes at the Viennese court to be in the ascendant, he did not scruple to seek once again the patronage of one so powerful in the imperial administration.[24]

Vitezović's direct knowledge and appreciation of the local situation at Senj in the 1670s and 1680s matured into an understanding that the problems faced by the Senjani were part of a far wider threat to Croatian sovereignty. In 1695, in a letter to the Bishop of Zagreb, his patron Stjepan Šelišćević, he gave an account of the extortions being visited upon the hapless commoners of Lika and Krbava by the 'Styrians', the agents of the War Council at Graz. He proposed to Šelišćević a scheme to purchase for the Banate liberated lands between the rivers Kupa and Una which the War Council wanted to include in the Military Frontier. Unless the Croats' roused themselves in self-defence, 'the name of the once free and royal Croatia would', he feared 'become the appellation of a

servile province of the Styrians'. Vitezović's fears were less that Croatia would be fall to the Turks than that it would disappear from the map of Europe, swallowed by Habsburg centralism.[25]

Three external 'threats' have been examined so far: the aggressive ambition of the Turks; the indifference and perfidy of the Christian allies; Habsburg centralism. These enemies attacked the body of Croatia by diminishing Croatian territory and by undermining the authority of the Croatian ban and sabor. Both territory and government were essential to the identity of Croatia. That this was Vitezović's belief is demonstrated by his fear that the Croatian name would disappear unless the Croats took action to secure liberated Croatian territory for the jurisdiction of the Croatian ban and sabor. The letter to Šelišćević also shows that the external enemies were only part of the threat to Croatia's survival. Vitezović continued that 'very many wise men here wonder that the laws and most ancient liberties of Croatia are guarded so sluggishly and with so little fervour'.[26]

The next part examines the internal threat to Croatia posed by the Croats' indifference towards the fate of their *patria*.

Part Two i Moral degeneracy and Divine displeasure

The Christians had suffered a string of defeats at the hands of the infidel Turk. In response, humanist scholars turned again to the vexed problem of reconciling the Christians' suffering and defeat with the omnipotence of God and His revealed character. Suffering was interpreted as divine punishment for a wicked world. The Turks were a scourge sent by

God to punish the moral laxity of the Christian world and through repentance to call it back to Him. Looking to learn from the past, Nicholaus Olaus (1493-1567), humanist scholar and briefly bishop of Zagreb, saw the earlier incursions of Attila and his barbarian hordes as having served the same high moral purpose as the Turks.[27] Away from the borderlands of the Christian west and the infidel east, this understanding of suffering was echoed in the teachings of Justus Lipsius and his neostoic followers who argued that terrible times afflicting the Dutch were sent by God and were therefore part of the providential order, intended for the benefit of mankind.[28]

Vitezović, in *Odiljenje Sigetska*, his account of the siege of Siget published in 1684, described the moral laxity which had tempted chastisement from God. Speaking in the voice of Siget, he wrote:

Envy is born in place of amity
Revenge instead of forebearance
The time of sluggishness is come, haste is extinct
In this luxury they attend God's anger
Foolishly they place to the side God's grace
With a leap they all follow the devil's prompting
Freedom is held greater than God's service
They apostasize from faith, they follow vain society
Now they do not heed virtuous loyalty,
They take no pleasure in God's opinion,
Cheerfully they dig a grave for their neighbour,
Then God because of this sends his scourge,
Plague, hunger, bloody and streaming battle.[29]

Twenty years later, he included the same interpretation of suffering in *Plorantis Croatiae*; famine and disease, the grim concomitants of war, are God's punishments visited upon a wicked world as are the natural disasters, the severe winters, floooding, drought, earthquakes and plagues of mice

which add to the man-made destruction wrought upon Croatia.[30] The God of *Plorantis Croatiae* behaves as the God known to Noah and Lot.

The suffering of Croatia was therefore a sign of an internal crisis among the Croats, a sign of a deep malaise in the very soul of the nation. By the time that Vitezović addressed the theme, divine displeasure and moral degeneracy were a developed theme in Hungarian humanist literature. The Hungarian writers could identify a specific lapse which had provoked divine wrath: Protestantism.[31] This interpretation, appropriate to the Hungarian but not the Croatian context since the Croats prided themselves on their steadfast adherence to Catholicism, was echoed by Vitezović in the reference to apostacy in the lines from *Odiljenje Sigetsko* quoted above. This suggests that Vitezović was working closely from one of the many accounts of the siege of Siget by Hungarian authors while he composed his own version.[32] Elsewhere in his writings, he adapted the theme of moral degeneracy and divine displeasure to a specifically Croatian context and to suit the circumstances of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Part Two ii Moral degeneracy and the abandonment of identity

Moral degeneracy in Vitezović's writings may be characterized as self-interest which ignores the commonweal. The vices which he contrasted with virtues in the passage from *Odiljenje Sigetsko* quoted above are all vices of self-interest. He lamented the passing of the age of heroism. The Croats' selfless devotion to the Christian cause had died away. In the *Lamentatio Segniae* he wrote that Senj, once the home of heroes and the

wrestling ground of Mars, every man wanted a share of glory but none of the effort.[33] In *Plorantis Croatiae*, the conspirators Petar Zrinski and Fran Krsto Frankopan were proof that the stock of those families which had epitomized Croatian virtue, were not immune from moral degeneracy.[34] This ruthless pursuit of self-interest was the opposite of Vitezović's own patriotic altruism, of the moral ideal of pursuing the commonweal. Vitezović was lamenting the Croats' lack of concern for the common good. In the language of modern social anthropology, he was lamenting the Croats' attenuated sense of belonging to their national community.

The Croats' lack of a sense of belonging manifested itself in the abandonment of their distinctive Croatian identity. Vitezović's earliest thoughts on national identity are couched in terms of moral disapproval. He complained that the Croats were adopting foreign ways, donning foreign dress and larding their speech with foreign affectations.[35] Such complaints about the corrupting influences of cultural cosmopolitanism had long been a commonplace among moralists. For moralists, luxury, being directed towards the comfort of the body, led, it was thought, to moral laxity and spiritual malaise.[36] This in turn prompted the wrath of God. During wartime, there was a functional side too to this moralizing. Extravagant living centred upon the gratification of the self diverted resources from the national war effort. Prolonged warfare with the Turks had drained the wealth of the Croatian nobility so that in the 1600s the sabor had passed sumptuary legislation.[37]

Such moralizing is ostensibly concerned with the welfare of the soul but it is not without a strong element of xenophobia, since the immorality exemplified by luxury is perceived as foreign, as coming from without to threaten national virtue, exemplified by the nations's natural simplicity and homely wholesomeness.[97] Vitezović's disapproval of cosmopolitanizing trends among the Croats was bred not so much from concern for their spiritual welfare, as from fear for and pride in the national culture.

The following sections (Part Two ii a, b) examine Vitezović's treatment of two threatened elements of the Croats' identity, language and history.

Part Two ii a Moral degeneracy and the abandonment of identity; language

In his address to the readers of *Odiljenje Sigetsko*, Vitezović expressed his concern for the future of the Croatian vernacular:

> .. I have written this *Odiljenje Sigetsko*, which I prepared five years ago, and which I have decided to give to the light of day, and I have done this chiefly because of this, lest our glorious Croatian language fall into such oblivion that soon our agelong (in a word) natives should be unable to use their maternal tongue well and to pronounce every word by its right name. For this I must hold nothing else to blame but the great housing of foreigners and the affectations of our youths returning from foreign lands. Because thence we have grown accustomed to say, not *knez* (*comes*) prince, but *grof* (*Graff*), not *žilj* (*lilium*) lily, but *lilion*, not *trg* (*forum*) square, but *pijac* (*piazza*), not *gospodičić* (*domicelus*) master, but *kišur*. So it seems to us that now these are no longer known *udes* (*fatum*) fate, *brina* (*taedium*) weariness, *pir* (*nuptiae*) wedding, *bedemi* (*moenia*) city walls, *lužanj* (*narcissus*) garlic, *bunar* (*puteus*) well, *ad* (*infernus - Hades*) hell, *sika* (*scopulus*) cliff, *ćić* (*ob*) therefore, *klikuvati* (*ululare*) to keen, and much else which sounds hard to me and to everyone who can imagine the abundance of the Slav tongue, because
>
> *A man most proudly wears his own dress*
> *And that which is not at home, is sought abroad.*[98]

Vitezović's forebodings were not original. Similar laments about the Croats' indifference to their vernacular and their readiness to adopt foreign words which destroyed the purity of the vernacular appear in the works of earlier Croatian writers.[99] What is of importance here for an

understanding of the remedies which Vitezović proposed to halt Croatia's decline, is the direction in which he apportioned blame for the neglect of the vernacular.

His disapproval of 'the affectations of our youths returning from foreign lands' has its origins in the moralists' criticism of vanity. Elsewhere in his writings, he railed against those Croat writers who wrote in modern European languages other than their mother tongue 'as if it were unbecoming' that they 'should speak or write in the idiom of their own people'.[40] But the passage in *Odiljenje Sigetsko* also reflects other underlying concerns. The root cause of this linguistic macaronism is not so much vanity as ignorance. Vitezović clearly suggested that the reason Croats were borrowing words form abroad was that they did not know the richness of their own tongue. This situation was being perpetuated by neglect of vernacular writing. It is this ignorance which he was seeking to combat by writing in the vernacular to show the glory of the language and by his experiments with reformed orthography which he then explained to his readers in the introduction to *Odiljenje Sigetsko*.

How should the other cause, 'the great housing of foreigners in this land' be understood? It seems an overtly xenophobic statement aimed specifically at the German officers stationed among the Croats by the Inner Austrian War Council. Is there an element of Germanophobia in Vitezović's resistance to cosmopolitan trends? It might be expected that at the time of writing *Odiljenje Sigetsko* his early experiences in Carniola and at Senj would have led him to focus on Germanisation. Yet he did not single

out German cultural influences as being the specific threat to the Croats' identity. The list of foreign adoptions in the preface to *Odiljenje Sigetsko* shows that the Croats were apparently as susceptible to Italian and Magyar cultural influences as they were to German. Vitezović's writings are without the aggressive anti-Germanism which characterizes Petar Zrinski's *Adrianskoga Mora Sirena.*[41] Rather he opposed all foreign borrowings which diluted the purity of the Croatian vernacular. At this period in their history, the Croats were not the victims of cultural imperialism, instead, through their own vanity and ignorance, they sought to assimilate, abandoning the elements of their distinctive identity without appreciating their significance.

The chief importance of language in Vitezović's writings is as an external indicator of identity. Where national identity was ambiguous, the use of a tongue other than the native vernacular was often the origin of the confusion. In *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam regnante Leopoldo Magno Caesare* (hereafter, *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*), Vitezović took the use of *sermone Schlavonico*, Slav speech, at the installation of the prince in Carinthia as evidence that the Carinthians were Slavs and likewise on linguistic grounds he agreed with Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini that the bilingual Istrians were Slavs, 'although the maritime cities used the Italian tongue'. Later, in the same work, he quoted from one author who claimed that the common use of German customs and speech obscured the Austrians' Illyrian or Slav origins from all but the cognoscenti.[42] That language was such an immediate marker of national

identity explains why the use of Latin could escape Vitezović's strictures. Being the universal tongue *par excellence* it did not carry with it any intimations of nationality.

Part Two ii b Moral degeneracy and the abandonment of identity; history

Vitezović presented the Croats' indifference to their history as being, like their abandonment of the vernacular, a sign of their moral weakness. In the dedication of the *Stemmatographia sive Armorum Illyricorum delineatio descriptio et restitutio* (hereafter, *Stemmatographia*), Vitezović, eager in anticipation, complained to his patron that history was undervalued. The lust for worldly wealth drew men away from history, where financial rewards were few, towards profitable careers in law and medicine:

> ..... when Galen and Justinian snatch all the wealth;
> The deeds of heroes and great men however endure, enobled by the poet's hand
> This noble study the ignorant, who do not penetrate its secret,
> Think to be a fairy-story.[43]

Again though Vitezović was less concerned with moralizing than with the implications that the neglect of history had for Croatia. With respect to their history, the Croats were suffering from *defectus scriptorum*, a paucity of writers.[44] Vitezović explained that the Croats' ancestors had been too busy covering themselves with martial glory to compose written records of their deeds. Successive waves of hostile invaders had forced the Croats to devote themselves to the weapons of war at the expense of the cultivation of letters. Levels of literacy had been low, even among the supposedly more cultured clergy of the Adriatic coast. He observed

that the circumstances of near continuous warfare had not favoured the survival of written records. Indeed it was to be wondered at that 'any stone still stood on stone'.[45]

In identifying *defectus scriptorum* as one of the problems besetting the Croats, Vitezović anticipates those modern social anthropologists who have observed the importance for nations of having a 'full' and well-preserved past. Anthony Smith has written that 'History is "full" where the *ethnie* is fortunate enough to have retained its memories and records in sufficient quantity'.[46] When a national past is 'empty', intellectuals searching for their national roots re-construct the necessary past. This is essentially what Vitezović set out to do when he tried to make up for the Croats' *defectus scriptorum*. In modern terms, he was lamenting the 'emptiness' of the Croats' history, a condition which their present indifference was perpetuating.

Defectus scriptorum or the 'emptiness' of their past, has made the Croats vulnerable to the machinations of their enemies. The Croats have become the victims of *trahison des clercs* since since it had been left to their enemies to record their history. These enemies, by their wilful obfuscations had succeeded in promoting their own cause to the disadvantage of the Croats who, with the rest of the world, remained ignorant of the true course of their history. This was particularly clear in the case of the Venetians who were using Ivan Lučić's *De Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae* to promote their claims to Dalmatia. Vitezović, unwilling to believe that a Croat could write history so detrimental to the interests

of his *patria*, suggested that the Venetians had tampered with Lučić's original text and described it as a compilation of the ideas of the Venetians and other foreigners published under Lučić's name.[47] 'It was', Vitezović observed, 'hardly surprising that those who were hostile to the Slavs or, like the Greeks, oppressed and troubled by them' endeavoured 'to detract from the majesty of the Croatian kings or chose to relate only those anecdotes which pertained to their own greatness'.[48] By remedying the *defectus scriptorum*, by 'filling out' the details of their past, the Croats would be supplied with the necessary 'factual' ammunition to defend what was theirs.

Even more than this practical advantage accruing from knowledge of the past, Vitezović emphasized the importance of history as a source of moral guidance; history taught future generations to live better. Like the portraits of ancestors and eulogies, history provided men with inspiring moral examples. By implication therefore, history taught a Croat what it meant to be a Croat. Vitezović exalted history as the repository of memory and in turn as bestowing dignity upon mankind since it was memory which, in the words of Cicero, divided man from the insentiate beasts.[49] History inculcated pride in the past and with it the self-esteem and courage to defend oneself.

The Croats' indifference to their history was therefore both symptom and cause of their degeneracy. Bent on self-promotion they ignored the 'nation' exemplified by the commonweal and history, the collective memory, and in turn it was because of their neglect of history and its moral

lessons that they had become so self-interested. Vitezović reasoned that the Croats, if they knew more of their past, would be less ready to abandon all that was distinctive to their identity in both the cultural and political sphere.

* * *

What does Vitezović's account of the moribund state of Croatia reveal about identity construction and nation-building in the second half of the sevententh century? Each threat which he identified was directed towards an element which he believed to be essential to Croatia. The external challenge to Croatia had come during the past two hundred years from the expansionism of the Ottomans and the Venetians. By the latter half of the seventeenth century, these 'traditional' enemies had been joined by the Habsburg central authorities. These 'enemies without' eroded Croatia's territory and undermined Croatian state right. The internal threat to Croatia came from the Croats' weak sense of their own nationhood. This made them indifferent to the welfare of their *patria* so that they failed to mount an effective opposition to the 'external enemies'. It also led them to abandon certain key elements of their distinctive identity, namely their language and history.

From this it appears that Croatian identity was seen to reside in two significant spheres; Croatian political tradition including territory, and Croatian national culture. Accordingly, the antidotes which Vitezović offered to Croatia's decline were the championing of

Croatian state-right and culture. The task which lay before him was that of a propagandist since the Croats' sense of their nationhood was so weak. The raising of the Croats' consciousness was the precondition for their political revival. Vitezović's combined his complaints about the state of the nation with exhortations to the reader to join the author in arresting the process of decline. He urged his readers to cherish the vernacular, to glorify it and to give thanks to God for so great a gift.[80] He praised those who used the vernacular, bestowing the title *pater patriae*, father to the fatherland, upon the Uniate priest Popović for addressing his congregations in their native tongue.[81] He praised those who wrote history and advocated the keeping of written records and private memoirs.[82]

The agents of national revival were to be men like Vitezović, members of the educated élite who would help other members of the educated élite to rediscover their Croatian identity. They were to fight with their pens, side by side with those *patres patriae* who defended the physical *patria* on the field of battle. This scenario of élites manipulating national identities is now familiar from the era of nationalism. Yet Vitezović, writing in the early modern period, was not concerned with popular success. *Croatia rediviva* did not depend upon the support of the common masses but rather upon his readers, the educated classes, the nobility and clergy who alone had political and social influence and from whose ranks were drawn the *patres patriae*. It was upon the survival of their identity that the survival of Croatia depended since they alone were in a position to succumb to the temptations of foreign luxury and fashions and thus to surrender their national identity. The great mass of illiterate Croats

excited Vitezović's attention only when they were being readily seduced and tempted into treason.[53] While criticizing the macaronic tendencies of his readers, Vitezović never made the leap, which was to seem logical by the end of the era of romanticism, to viewing the vast body of Croats untainted by foreign fashions as the repository of pure Croatian identity. His range of appeal was as narrow as his conception of the nation.

The identity to be observed under construction in Vitezović's writings is therefore the identity of the Croatian élite. *Croatia rediviva* comes from the title of the great encyclopaedic study of Croatia which Vitezović planned over many years and which survives in outline and in the manuscript and constituent parts of *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum*

The next three chapters examine Vitezović's choice of material from which he pieced together the identity of 'Croatia resurrected'.

CHAPTER FOUR .

Croatia Rediviva; the genius of the nation

Ne quis vero Croatos a Slavis aut Illyriis aliam existimet esse nationem, hic monitum iri voluimus.

Lest anyone should think that the Croats are a nation different from that of the Slave or Illyrians, we wish him to be instructed in this matter.[1]

This chapter is concerned with identity construction as a deliberate creative act. It examines how existing material is selected and adapted by identity builders for inclusion within the identifying framework of a nation. The material which is under consideration here is drawn from Vitezović's ethnographic writings. To answer questions about the Croats' ancestry, homeland, history, customs and character, Vitezović drew upon the great wealth of 'Illyrian' literature which had grown up among the Croats since the early sixteenth century. This literature had evolved from a core mythology which the individual Slav nations had nationalized by adapting motifs to satisfy their own requirements. Vitezović selected, discarded and re-interpreted motifs from the great Illyrian literary canon to create in *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam* and *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum* what remains as the most elaborate exposition of 'Illyrian culture' among the Croats.[2] A study of his ethnographic work provides a direct insight into how identities are constructed from building material already in existence.

The nature of the Illyrian framework in which Vitezović worked invites questions about the requirements which a national identity must satisfy if it is to flourish. The manner in which, not just the Croatian, but the baroque mind in general satisfied its curiosity with regard to questions of its own ethnicity confronts the modern reader with much which is alien and puzzling. Why did Vitezović and his friends freely and readily identify themselves in their private correspondence as Illyrians, refer to their language as the Illyrian tongue and write about returning to the Illyrian shores?* While this use was undoubtedly a literary affectation, 'Illyrian' evidently carried specific resonances and satisfied their needs in a way which the straightforward noun and adjective Croat and Croatian could not. The nature of these needs is discussed in this chapter as motifs from Vitezović's Illyrian writings are examined in the light of the themes of Croatian decline already considered in Chapter Three.

Among the Croatian exponents of Illyrian mythology, Vitezović stands out in particular as an illustration of the readiness of his contemporaries to embrace the antiquarian at the expense of what now seems the rational; his pursuit of the Croats' Illyrian origins displays a preference for the old Illyrian mythology over the alternative theories of Croatian ethnicity offered by Ivan Lučić. Illyrian mythology did not contain the truths of what modern readers would recognize as authentic history, yet to Vitezović and many of his contemporaries, it was true since they could recognize it as part of their own national history. It was the product of scholars who had moulded it to the national genius. Herein lay its potency. Leaving to one side questions of the truth or falsity of Vitezović's account of

the Croats' history, this chapter examines his writings for those poetic truths which reflect his and his contemporaries' perceptions of their own national identity.

Vitezović was not concerned with description for its own sake. His aims were avowedly revivalist. The identity which he created had a strong didactic, integrative and moralizing purpose intended to counter the Croats' ignorance, attenuated sense of belonging and moral laxity. How Vitezović moulded existing material to promote his higher purpose of national self-revival will be considered with reference to his handling of three particulars from the canon of Illyrian mythology: myths of common descent and geographical extent; the Croatian homeland; the Illyrian Arcadia.

Myths of common descent and geographical extent

One function of myths of descent from a common ancestor is that they offer an explanation of the cultural similarities existing among the members of a nation. A common Slav ancestor accounted for the similarities between the languages spoken by the individual Slav nations; the reason why the Russians, Poles, Czechs and South Slavs spoke what was understood to be dialects of one language was that they were descendants of the same ancestor and had spread out from the same common homeland. The Slavs developed a variety of myths of common descent within the Slav core mythology. Like other nations, they traced their ancestry to one of the grandsons of Noah. Among the Croats, Vinko Pribojević extended and

adapted the theories of Polish and Italian humanists in order to create a history of the Slavs which began with their descent from Thyras the son of Japhet and narrowed its scope to focus upon Dalmatia and Pribojević's native island of Hvar.[4] The manuscript *Origo et Progressus Slavorum* shows that Vitezović was familiar with various versions of the 'sons of Japhet myth'.[5] Following the chronicle of Antun Vramec, he recounted in the *Kronika* for the year 1658 B.C. that 'the Amazons, Muscovites and the rest of the Slav nation' were descended from Mosa son of Japhet. The 'sons of Japhet myth' included an account of the Slavs migrations with their point of departure generally being placed in Scandinavia. Another myth of common ancestry existed within the Slav core mythology which reversed the direction of migration, placing the point of departure in the region of the Danube basin. This version was in accord with the established belief in the Balkan origins of the South Slavs as the descendants of the ancient Illyrians. It traced the branches of the Slav nation to three royal brothers variously named Čeh, Leh and Rus or Čeh, Leh and Meh who were driven into exile and founded the eponymous Kingdoms of Bohemia, Poland and Russia. The three brothers accounted for the three northern Slav kingdoms. Since they were Slavs, it was logical to deduce that they had been driven into exile from amongst the fourth major Slav group, the South Slavs. A version of the myth which made the three brothers the sons of an Illyrian noble family appeared among the Croats in the late sixteenth century. In the course of the seventeenth century Croatian scholars adapted the Čeh, Leh and Rus myth to make it specifically Croatian. The Illyrian name was understood not just as a synonym for South Slav but for Croatian. Working from Bohemian

sources, Juraj Rattkay claimed that the brothers had departed from Krapina, a small town north of Zagreb. Pride in the great Croatian achievement was emblazoned across the *cista regni* in Latin verses celebrating Croatia as the cradle of the Czech and Polish Kingdoms while the pupils at the Zagreb Gymnasium enacted, 'with exceptional scenic apparatus', the flight of the brothers Čeh and Leh from Krapina.[6]

Accounts of the common descent of the Slavs were often combined with lengthy and detailed descriptions of the geographical spread of the Slavs. Land- and people-catalogues which listed all the supposed constituent parts and members of the Slav world were one of the standard genres of Illyrian literature. Pribojević included a catalogue of the descendants of Thyras who were spread over Eastern Europe and into Asia from the Baltic to the Adriatic.[7] The listing together of all the constituent peoples to be included under one collective name in itself demonstrated that the Slavs were one nation born of a common ancestor. As the core Illyrian-Slav mythology gained wider acceptance, these catalogues could stand by themselves as the epitome of the whole complex body of mythology with the implications of common descent present in the mind of the educated reader.

The prominence of land- and people-catalogues as a genre within the Illyrian literary canon seems to confirm the explanations which have most frequently been given for the Croats' receptiveness to Illyrian mythology. A number of historians have claimed that the Croats, at a time when they were beset by the Turks and the Venetians, found solace in

Illyrian-Slav mythology since the existence of millions of Slav brethren counteracted the sense of their own insignificance and held out the prospect of help from within the 'family' when it became clear that help from Western Europe would not be forthcoming. It counteracted the sense of being a small isolated ethnic group and showed that they were part of an extensive Slav nation with a rich cultural heritage. Much as pan-Slavism in the nineteenth century served as a protective frame for the growth of individual Slav nationalisms, so Illyrian-Slav mythology fostered the development of individual Slav national identities during the age of humanist scholarship.*

The corpus of Vitezović's work includes many examples of such land- and people-catalogues through which it is possible to trace the different stages in his understanding of the terms Illyrian and Slav and Croat. From first using the Illyrian name conventionally as a synonym for the South Slavs and applying it to the greater part of the Balkan peninsula in the *Anagrammaton sive Laurus Auxiliatoribus Ungariae liber secundus* (hereafter, *Anagrammaton II*) Vitezović extended the use of Illyrian to cover all the Slavs in the addendum to the *Kronika Aliti Szpomen Vszega Vikov* (hereafter, *Kronika*). The contents tables which he sketched for *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum* foretell sections devoted to 'the inhabitants of ancient Illyria' and 'the inhabitants of modern Illyria' with the constituent peoples listed underneath. The *Stemmatographia*, which was planned as part of *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum* is a land-catalogue accompanied by coats-of-arms of the Illyrian nations.*

The final development came in the *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam* where, in his delineation of the area inhabited by the Croats, he encompassed all the Slavs within the Croatian name.

The precise composition of Vitezović's land- and people-catalogues, including the addendum to the *Kronika*, is given in the tables of Appendix Two. More important for the problem of identity construction is the purpose to which Vitezović used this particular literary genre.

Catalogues provided Vitezović with a useful framework for organizing his material. In the *Anagrammaton II* he used the land-catalogue to arrange a collection of verses which are decorative rather than didactic. The *Stemmatographia* is a land catalogue which carries an instructive message with each country being illustrated by a coat-of-arms and an explanatory verse. Both works enjoyed popularity with non-Croatian readers. What did Vitezović's use of the device imply to his Croatian reader? In the *Anagrammaton II*, he organized the allies of Hungary into five major divisions: Italia, Germania, Hispania, Sarmatia and Illyria. By this arrangement he demonstrated that Illyria was one of the great European land divisions. The *Anagrammaton II* also placed the Illyrian name in the military heroic context, directly associating the South Slavs with their historical task, the defence of Europe from the Turk. These resonances are even more obvious in the *Stemmatographia* where he catalogued a world which is exclusively Illyrian or Slav. Here all the members are bound together by their common experiences of suffering and by their common Illyrian virtues. Vitezović's use of land- and people-catalogues in this

manner conforms to established explanations for the success of the Slav-Illyrian mythology among the South Slavs. Vitezović showed them to be part of a wide community of common experience united in a common task and of a distinction equal to that ofthe other great European national groups.

In the Addendum to the *Kronika*, Vitezović used the theme of the breadth of the Illyrian/Slav world to defend a particular aspect of the Croats' threatened national culture; their vernacular. The use of a people-catalogue in this context brings together the notion of genetic unity with that of linguistic unity. All the various peoples listed, familiar from other people-catalogues of the Slavs, shared a common language by reason of their common descent.[10] The catalogue of peoples speaking the Illyrian tongue is one of several devices which Vitezović employed to demonstrate to the Croats the grandeur of their language. The vast people-catalogue, quoted in Appendix Two, was directed at his compatriots' sense of cultural inferiority. His purpose, he stated clearly, was to dispell the ignorance of those who thought that the Illyrian tongue was only spoken between the rivers Sava and Drava. Since the number of people speaking a language was regarded as an attribute of a language's grandeur, Vitezović hoped that the Croats, once apprised of the extent of their tongue, would, be encouraged to respect and cultivate their own vernacular.

The Addendum to the *Kronika* nicely illustrates how literary motifs from the core mythology could be nationalized. Vitezović had taken the people-catalogue of speakers of the Illyrian tongue almost verbatim from the Bohemian scholar Jan Václav Rosa's preface to *Czechorecnost seu*

Grammatica linguae Bohemicae (hereafter, *Czechorecnost*) published in Prague in 1672. Rosa had wanted to praise the merits of the Bohemian tongue and had emphasized its virtues as a *lingua franca* since as a Slav language it could be understood wherever another Slav language was spoken. Vitezović altered Rosa's theme to give it a specifically Croatian emphasis. He translated the Latin of Rosa's preface into the kajkavski dialect and substituted the name Illyrian where Rosa had used the neutral term Slav. Since the Illyrian name was an accepted synonym for South Slav and for Croat, Vitezović implied that it was the Croats' language which was spoken from the Adriatic to the frozen north.''

Vitezović reached the third stage in the *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam* where he took the Croatian name and extended it to all the Illyrian-Slavs. He abandoned the formal structure of the catalogue and concentrated on giving a carefully argued delineation of the area inhabited by Croats. His extension of the Croatian name was justified by the use he made of the Čeh, Leh and Rus myth of common descent. Since the three brothers were Croats and departed from Krapina in the Zagreb Zagorje, it was right to extend the Croatian name to their descendants, the northern Slavs, the Czechs, Poles and Russians whose kingdoms the brothers had founded.''

The aspect of the Čeh, Leh and Rus myth which Vitezović emphasized was the role of the brothers as the founders of kingdoms. He concluded his study of the life of Saint Ladislav, with an exhortation to the Croats to be no less proud for having produced a royal saint than for founding so

many glorious kingdoms;

Long before, you sent forth Čeh, Leh and Rus, the celebrated leaders
Who founded so many kingdoms in the remote lands beyond Sarmatia,
Whose names the Russian, Czech and Polish peoples have assumed,
Separate kingdoms which are of late encircled by their own crowns.'[3]

The myth was a stimulus for pride in the Croats' achievements. Since the achievements of Čeh, Leh and Rus had been political, the myth suggested a parallel with the task of political renewal which lay before the Croats; Vitezović's contemporaries, inspired by the achievements of their ancestors, must now effect *Croatia rediviva*, the resurrection of Croatia. Such was the potency of the story of Čeh, Leh and Rus for the Croats that, over a century later it could still serve as inspiration for national rebirth when another son of Krapina, Ljudevit Gaj, breathed new life into the old myth.

Vitezović's highly original final move of transferring the Croats' name to all the Slavs placed the Croats at the very centre of the Illyrian-Slav world. Why, after the use established in the *Kronika*, was this move necessary when Croat and Illyrian were accepted synonyms? In the threatening circumstances after the 1699 Peace of Karlowitz when Vitezović was writing *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, the old ill-defined nomenclature of Illyria was no longer satisfactory. The elevation of the Croatian name bespeaks pride and confidence in a real and specific national name, linked to a political entity, the Kingdom of Croatia. The expanded version of the *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam* which he planned would have embraced the great history and culture of the Slavs under the Croatian name. Since he, and many contemporary scholars,

believed that Alexander the Great and the heroes and scholars of ancient Greece had been Slavs, the contribution of the Croats to the world was inestimable. In *Croatia Rediviva*, all the heroic resonances of the Slav and Illyrian name were transferred from mythology to the real world of the Croatian name. At this juncture, Vitezović presented the Croatian élite with an identity which reinforced their awareness of a distinct national identity.

The Croatian homeland

The opening section of the *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam* is devoted to what is ostensibly a search for the origin of the Croatian name. Vitezović stated in the first sentence his intention of proving that the 'Croatian name is much older than is commonly thought'.[14] In all his works, he attached great signficance to proper names and their derivations. The name of a nation had totemic significance, summing up the essence of a nation's character. A nation's enemies would propagate a false *etymo* or derivation as a way of undermining the nation's dignity.[15] In the *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, Vitezović searched for the origin of the Croatian name with the intention of establishing the Croats' homeland since to locate the Croatian name in the historical record would be to locate the Croats themselves in the past.

Vitezović, in his search for the Croats in antiquity, argued to predetermined conclusions. Croatian autochthony was a precondition for the extension of the Croatian name to the Slav world for, if the origins of the Croat-Slavs lay with the Croatian princes Čeh, Leh and Rus in

Krapina, then the Croats themselves must have originated in Croatia. In short, the Croats and the Croatian name must be proved to be autochthonous in Croatia. The academic ground was already well prepared to receive Vitezović's line of argument. Belief in the descent of the Slavs from the Illyrians and therefore the Balkan origins of the Slavs was a well established tradition within Illyrian mythology.

Vitezović's preferred origin for the Croatian name placed the Croats firmly in the Balkan peninsula and more precisely on the Adriatic coast of the Kingdom of Croatia, in the district of Krbava. Following Thomas the Archdeacon, he claimed that the name was derived from that of the Curetes or Corybantes, a people whose existence was well attested by classical authors.[16] He noted that the name 'Corybantes is different from that of the Croats only by reason of a slight change of the letters' and that in other languages this difference was even less apparent. Other details in the account of Thomas the Archdeacon served to confirm the identification of the Croats with the Corybantes. They had been a warlike and hardy people who greeted the lunar eclipse with a wild banging together of bronze household utensils so that Virgil, no less, had dubbed them 'the Curetes who clash bronze'. Vitezović noted that these *mores* had continued in Krbava and Croatia to his day. Not only was the name of the Corybantes and the Croats sufficiently similar but, as the Croats' immediate forefathers, the Corybantes even behaved like Croats. On the basis of this evidence, he was satisfied to conclude that the name of Croatia had come from the mainland district of modern Corbavia, 'the centre of old Liburnia and modern Croatia once called Corybantia'.[17]

Vitezović's determination to establish the Croats' name, and with it the Croats, as autochthonous in Croatia illustrates the potency of poetic truths. His acceptance of Thomas the Archdeacon's account was a deliberate choice between a number of alternative theories. Vitezović was well versed in the account of the Croats' origins expounded by Ivan Lučić, an account which now impresses by its proximity to current theories of Slav migrations from the north-east. Following the description by Constantine Porphyrogenitus of Slav migration, Lučić claimed that the Croats had come to Croatia from beyond the Carpathians, either modern Poland or modern Bohemia. In the account of Porphyrogenitus, the Croatian name arrived in Croatia with the five fugitive Belochrobati brothers and two sisters, one of whom was called Chrobatus.'[28]

It should be noted that Vitezović did not deny the reality of the Slav migrants from the north.[29] He quoted from Porphyrogenitus' story of the Belochrobati brothers in the course of his discussion of the origins of the Croatian name in the *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*. The brothers, like Čeh, Leh and Rus, were an established part of Croat-Illyrian mythology.[30] They appeared in the chronicle of Vramec and in Vitezović's own *Kronika* and in his account of the office of ban, they have an important role to play as the founders of a key element of Croatian state tradition.'[31] Far from giving contrary evidence, Porphyrogenitus' account could indeed confirm the Čeh, Leh and Rus story, since it showed the Croats to be outside Croatia in the ninth century.[32] A later note made by Vitezović, although incompletely worked out, allows for just such a

reconciliation between the Corybantes and the Čeh, Leh and Rus version of events and versions such as that of Porphyrogenitus which Lučić had favoured and which made the Croats originate outside present-day Croatia. Referring to yet another version of the origins of national names in the Balkans, Vitezović wrote that three brothers, Serb, Zachul and Crobat, gave their names to Illyricum and Croatia and in so doing 'restored the name of the Curetes and Corybantes to its original soil'. The Croatian name could both originate in Croatia and return to Croatia.[21]

Why did Vitezović deliberately favour the Corybantes-Croats theory of Croatian autochthony in Croatia? It has already been pointed out that it was pivotal to the whole extension of the Croatian name to the Slav world. Yet the story of Croatian autochthony gave satisfaction beyond the need to provide an intellectually consistent account of events.

Anthony Smith in his discussion of association with a specific territory as one of the five dimensions of *ethnie* observes that 'territory is relevant to ethnicity .... because of an alleged and felt symbiosis between a certain piece of earth and 'its' community.'[22] That the Croats were autochthonous in Croatia, that Croatia was their homeland was therefore a 'fact' of great psychological import. It showed that the Croats and Croatia had belonged together since time immemorial. The Croats' ties to their territory, their 'symbolic geographical centre' or 'sacred habitat' were not ties to a distant homeland remembered with nostalgia but to the very soil which they still inhabited, the present-day Kingdom of Croatia. Through the Corybantes-Croats theory, Vitezović could focus

directly upon Croatia the strong emotions which are excited by the national homeland. For example, in *Plorantis Croatiae* when the Turks ravaged Krbava they ravaged the very heartland of the Croats, a point which Vitezović emphasized by drawing attention to the fact that this was the region which had given the Croats their name.[23] As holder of the empty office of vice-captain of Lika and Krbava, Vitezović had a vested interest in urging the hasty liberation of the region and in warding off the advances of the Inner Austrian War Council. Croatian autochthony was a potent weapon with which to confirm the Croats' right to their traditional *Lebensraum*.[24]

The discussion so far has considered Vitezović's handling of common descent, geographical extent and ancestral homeland, standard elements of national mythologies. It has been shown how he adapted and selected from the existing core mythology and manipulated these elements to fit the circumstances of Croatian decline and the need for national resurrection. The next section considers more closely the type of moral lessons which mythology can be employed to give.

The Illyrian Arcadia

In Vitezović's studies for the encyclopaedia *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum* the reader is confronted with the mechanics of identity construction. Listed in the tables of contents are those descriptive particulars which could explain the application of the Illyrian name. With these particulars, he created an Illyrian identity. Vitezović's approach was ostensibly that of those encyclopaedists, often Jesuit

missionaries, who had set about describing the characteristics of various peoples, at first the curious and exotic but later the local and familiar. Vitezović's encyclopaedia of the Illyrians is a catalogue of curiosities, a prose counterpart of the museums which he and his mentor Valvasor had established in their homes. Yet it is a curiously hybrid work, for in its pages the scientific approach based upon methodical observation and record practised by the founders of the science of anthropology was combined with the traditions of pastoral poetry, a literary tradition rooted in inspiration. *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum* is Vitezović's contribution to the great literary tradition of arcadias. Following in the tradition of the *Saturnia Regna* of Hesiod, but most consciously the golden age of Virgil, Vitezović made his ancient Illyrians a nation of primaeval and heroic simplicity inhabiting a semi-magic landscape of abundance, an Illyrian Arcadia.[25] Illyrian snails were, he assured his readers on the evidence of Pliny, prodigiously large and Illyrian hens, according to Aristotle, laid twice daily. Diverse reports testified to such marvels as men who could use their double pupils to fascinate their hapless victims and a cold spring over which clothes caught fire.[26] Yet, for all their fantastical elements, arcadias are adapted to reflect the reality of their creators and the landscape of Vitezović's Illyria is unmistakeably Croatian in character. Illyria was a land of fertile fields intersected by rivers, lofty mountain ridges and an indented coastline with good natural harbours. This description with its three clearly defined types of landscape corresponds to the three geographical regions of Croatia which Vitezović outlined in *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam: Croatia interamnis*, the land between the rivers Drava, Save and the

Danube; *Croatia mediterranea*, or the mountainous inland region of Croatia; and *Croatia maritima*, the Adriatic coastline of Croatia with its bare limestone cliffs falling sharply into the sea.[27] Illyria, Vitezović explained to his readers, had been rich in mineral wealth and yielded in abundance such staples of the Adriatic Croatian diet as bread, olive oil and wine. In describing the flora of Illyria, Vitezović mentioned the Illyrian irises praised by Ovid and Theophrastus and still familiar as the blue-black *perunike* which thrive on the inhospitable karst around Senj and indeed the length of the Dalmatian coastline. *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum* was an elaborate exercise of the imagination but the Illyria created within its pages was not a neutral arcadia but one which Vitezović's contemporary Croats could recognize.[28]

The Illyrian landscape is only incidental to the main theme of *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum* which is the Illyrians themselves, their character and their way of life. The baroque encyclopaedists had described in detail the language, dress, customs, beliefs and traditions of remote nations. In the same way, Vitezović described the Illyrians, drawing upon the evidence of classical sources. In his second-hand but nonetheless vivid accounts of the dress, weaponry, diet and funeral practices of the Illyrians, he treated supposed customary practice as a curiosity.[29]

What practical purpose was served by this elaborate exercise of the imagination? In writing *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum*, Vitezović saw himself as making an important contribution to national revival. It was a work which would dispel the shameful ignorance which had led the Croats to

abandon and neglect their national culture. As a work of history it contained valuable moral lessons. By demonstrating the character of the Croats' remote ancestors, it would demonstrate the true inherent character of the Croats. Countless details throughout the work create an image of the Illyrians as an ideal society with Illyria as a poetic space in which the national character could develop and run free of corrupting alien influences. Vitezović abstracted the characteristics of this synthetic Illyrian identity to create that spectacular example of baroque iconography, the *Stemmatographia*. The colours of the coats-of-arms of the various Illyrian nations, represented in the engravings by different directions of hatching and cross-hatching, represented the Illyrian virtues. The explanation to this colour-code which Vitezović provided, lists the key characteristics of the Illyrians:

Gold; a fortunate age
White or silver; candour and purity of mind, implying fidelity,
Red; indicating magnanimity
Heavenly blue; wisdom, justice, brilliance of repute
Black; prudence, stability, resolve,
Green; hope, strength and vigour
Purple; (because it is the peculiar colour of princes) signifies strength and valour of command.[30]

The character of the Illyrians was fixed by the heavens. Explaining the Illyrian coat-of-arms (plate 3), the moon and the star according to Ptolomey, signified an inclination towards religion, gave good health and longevity while the strong red ground colour represented magnanimity, the great Illyrian virtue, celebrated by Ivan Čikulin.[31]

The potency of this composite Illyrian character lay in its familiarity. Just as Vitezović's sophisticated readers could recognize the Illyrian

landcape as their own, so too could they find virtues in their rude Illyrian forefathers which matched their own. Herein, throughout the centuries, has lain the charm of the innocent pastoral for the urbane and civilized. Vitezović's Illyrians, although barbarian, brutal and pagan, behave as untamed prototypes of the knightly Christian and aristocratic north Croatian nobles of the seventeenth century. The Illyrians were the ideal standard from which Vitezović declared that his contemporary Croats had departed in their age of moral decline. Three characterstics are prominent as being common to Vitezović's Illyrians and the Croatian heroes, men who had distinguished themselves in the defence of their *patria* against the Turks and whose memory was still fresh. These characterstics are military prowess, piety and self-sacrifice.

The military prowess of the ancient Illyrians was one of the standard themes from the Illyrian literary canon. According to the sons of Japhet myth, in the version which Vitezović noted, the Slavs were a military caste ordained by God. Just as Juraj Rattkay had elaborated upon the martial valour of the Illyrians, so Vitezović planned to devote whole sections of his encyclopaedia to the Illyrians' weaponry, battle techniques and *saevitia* or ferocity.[22] The Croats' history is related as one of near unbroken conflict. First their Illyrian forefathers had waged war against the Greeks, then the Romans, the Tartars and their barbarian hordes. The history of conflict remained unbroken, continuing into the time of Vitezović and his contemporaries who fought against the Turkish infidel. The military prowess of the Illyrians, tested through generations of warfare, still ran in the veins of the Croatian nobility. The same

qualities which had distinguished their ancestors were to be found in the *patres patriae* who defended the fatherland, in the Senjani and most remarkably in the Croatian hero *par excellence*, Nikola Šubić Zrinski of Siget. Certain of his death, Zrinski had drawn his sword and led forth his forces to meet the Turks laying siege to the walls of Siget. Here in this story was the Croatian genius, heroic and unchanging, for the Croats' ancestors, the Curetes or Corybantes had been 'very warlike and thought nothing of exposing themselves to death and threw themselves naked into the thick of the enemy arms'. They, like Zrinski, epitomized the warrior element within the Croats' national identity, an element shaped by historical circumstances.[33]

Christian piety required more subtle demonstration in an ancient nation which had worshipped pagan gods. Sections of *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum* dealt with the gods of the Illyrians with descriptions of Lado, a beautiful youth dressed for war his helmet surmounted by the Illyrian star and crescent moon.[34] Despite their paganism, the pre-Christian Illyrians seemed to follow by instinct the demands of Christian decency. They were a hospitable people, feeding their guests, showing magnanimity towards their prisoners and slaves. They behaved in accord with the principles of the humanist and stoic moralists for they were tolerant of hardship and uncorrupted by vanity and luxury and their women were sturdy, modest and chaste. As in so many golden ages, Illyrian society was pre-monetary, so that the Illyrians had not been like the mercenary Greeks whose sole motivation was financial gain.[35]

The paganism of the Illyrians was counteracted by their being among the very first to embrace Christianity. Vitezović recounted how Saint Paul and Saint Peter had sent missionaries to effect their conversion. Since accepting the True Faith, the Illyrians, who were by nature pious, had been steadfast in their adherence, many of the early Illyrian converts going to swell the ranks of the Christian martyrs and others achieving sainthood in diverse displays of piety. The manuscript *Indigetes Illyricani sive Vitae Sanctorum Illyrici* (herafter, *Indigetes Illyricani*), a completed section of *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum* prepared for separate publication, is a powerful testimony to the piety of the Illyrians with saints for every day of the year drawn from throughout the Illyrian-Slav world.[26] In this context, as the neo-stoics taught, that execrable persecutor of the Christians, the Emperor Diocletian, born at Split, had a providential role in confirming the Illyrians' Christian ardour. The unshakeable piety of the Croats' forefathers foreshadowed their own remarkable *constantia in religione*, loyalty to Roman Catholicism.

The piety and spirit of self-sacrifice exhibited by the early Christian martyrs were, in another respect, still part of the experience of Vitezović's Croatian readers. In recent times, the Christian mettle of the Croats, like their military prowess, had been tested by the Turks. At Remete, a monastery a short distance from Zagreb, the Turks had hung twelve Pauline monks and Vitezović recorded in *Plorantis Croatiae* many occasions of Turkish savagery directed deliberately against Christians. Since the struggle against the Turks was a holy crusade, those who fell in

battle against the infidel were not only *patres patriae*, patriots defending their fatherland, but martyrs worthy of the green palm. These *patres patriae* became secular saints in the national pantheon.[37] The actions of Nikola Šubić Zrinski at Siget epitomized not only military prowess but the piety and spirit of self-sacrifice of the Croats' genius. Likewise the pious and eirenic Saint Vladimir, when faced with a choice between betrayal or defeat, was ready to seek a good death by an act of self-sacrifice. Something of this spirit was attributed to Vitezović after his death when Adam Balthazar Krčelić dwelt on how he had sacrificed his all, bringing himself to poverty out of love for the fatherland.[38]

The national heroes of the Turkish campaigns and the ancient Illyrians were a repository of specifically Croatian virtue. The heroes of classical Greece and Rome might give the same moral lessons but these classical heroes did not belong to the Croats in the way that their own Illyrian ancestors did. The virtues of the Croatian national heroes had been moulded by their historical experience. The Turkish wars, the crusade against the infidel demanded that the Croats practise their military prowess, piety and self-sacrifice. The potency of the Croatian national heroes lay in their very Croatness. Nikola Šubić Zrinski and the Illyrian race of heroes were exceptional for their phenomenal prowess, their possession of the national virtues in extreme concentration. Yet at the same time they were typical, for their virtues were the virtues of the Croats. Looking at the great heroes of the Turkish wars and at their ancient Illyrian ancestors, Vitezović's readers, as Croats, saw magnified versions of themselves. Through the elaborate mythology of the

Illyrians, Vitezović illustrated the moral behaviour appropriate to the nation. *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum* and all its constituent parts contain a national scheme of ethics for Vitezović's contemporary Croats.

The Illyrian Arcadia, though, was not created to promote self-satisfaction from self-recognition in heroic models. Vitezović's contemporaries might identify with the Illyrians but this act of identification was intended to leave them in disquiet, for they were not heroes but the sons of a debased age. The primitive asceticism of the ancient Illyrians was in contrast to the hedonism of their Croatian descendants. The warrior spirit of the ancient Illyrians and their piety and self-sacrifice is obviously the reverse of the apathy of Vitezović's contemporaries, their unwillingness to embark upon further war, their lack of enthusiasm for a holy crusade and their selfish pursuit of their own interest rather than the commonweal. The contrast in the manner of everyday life is often just implied. Not for the Illyrians, he observed, was the practice of preparing over-elaborate meals and then wolfing them down. In the matter of dress, though, he added direct criticism in the manner of the moralist. The Croats might, with shame, compare themselves with their noble and heroic ancestors."

The pastoral tradition of arcadias and golden ages typically thrives in societies haunted by a sense of their moral bankruptcy. Vitezović, in his moralizing writings, depicted his own age as one of depravity. It was a period of turbulence with the Turkish wars and the internal strife in Hungary and Croatia. Educated in the classical tradition, Vitezović

followed conventional literary models but these models had originated in similar circumstances of instability and retained their original psychological appeal.

Golden ages, arcadias and gardens of Eden excite nostalgia. The exiled are filled with an unfulfilled longing to return. Herein lies the efficacy of these literary motifs for the task of national revival. The renewal of the golden age serves as a metaphor of national renewal. Although the emotion excited is nostalgia, its force is directed not towards the past but towards the future. Vitezović's Illyrians, like Virgil's Trojans, were created 'to form the mind to heroic virtue by example'.[40] *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum* was intended to inspire emulation. It concentrated upon those virtues important for national revival. Its emphasis upon war, piety and self-sacrifice echoes the language of struggle, ideology and subordination of the self familiar from more recent summonses to build the nation. Vitezović's Illyrian Arcadia was a call for the moral rebirth which would bring about national revival, *Croatia rediviva*.

* * *

Three themes from Vitezović's Illyrian writings have been examined: myths of descent and geographical extent: the Croatian homeland; the Illyrian Arcadia. Vitezović combined elements from the core Slav-Illyrian mythology with classical literary traditions to create an identity which contained messages specifically for the Croats. He placed the

Croats at the very centre of a mighty nation with an enormous geographical spread. He fixed their origins firmly on the soil of their present *patria*. He created an ancient history for them which demonstrated the national scheme of ethics. These elements he used to inspire pride and confidence in themselves and in their national culture. Above all it inspired emulation, it would rouse his contemporaries to work towards national revival, for they alone were the human agents who could secure the future of Croatia.

It was with these clear revivalist goals that Vitezović set out his own version of Illyrian mythology for the Croats. His task, though, was as much an act of confirmation as it was creation, for it relied upon its familiarity, upon the Croats' own existing sense of their identity. Vitezović was the last great exponent of Illyrian mythology among Croatian scholars of the baroque age. Yet the motifs which he expanded persisted. In the nineteenth century, the well-worn and time-honoured motifs left the dry stables of humanist erudition to attempt the wider fields of a more popular consciousness. The lasting potency of Illyrian motifs into the age of romantic nationalism and the *narodni preporod* bespeaks their accord with the Croatian national genius.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Kingdom of Croatia: institutions

Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia; iste Deo Regique suo constantia Regna, Religione, Fide, Marteque semper erant.

Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia; kingdoms which were ever steadfast to their God and King in religion, faith and war.[1]

Magna fuit priscis temporibus Banorum Authoritas et praerogativa.

Great was the authority and prerogative of the bans in former times.[2]

Vitezović showed a dual political loyalty, to the Habsburg Emperor and to the Kingdom of Croatia. He composed effusive professions of loyalty to the Habsburg Emperor and his household, giving literary proof of his personal allegiance which was no less genuine for being part of his tireless search for patronage. At the same time he declared his love for the Kingdom of Croatia. He worked upon the detailed exposition of the Croatian constitution embodied in the Croats' specific legal and political institutions and the territorial limits within which that constitution should apply. Discernible here in Vitezović's writings are two important elements of political thought among the members of the Croatian political nation: their loyalty to the ruling dynasty and at the same time their defensive adherence to the elements of their distinctive political culture and to the land which they saw, literally, as their birthright.

This and the following chapter draw upon Vitezović's writings concerning the political institutions and the territorial limits of the Kingdom of Croatia. With respect to the central issue of identity construction, attention is focused upon how the political entity, the state, becomes filled with national content. Both chapters examine the workings of the Croatian policy of accommodation with the Habsburgs. Squeezed between the Ottomans, aggressive expansionists, and the Habsburgs, latently expansive, the Croatian élite understood that they could not retain their statehood without a powerful protector. It was this consideration which in 1527 had moved the Croatian nobles to elect the Habsburg Ferdinand as their king and which in 1659 had driven Juraj Križanić to Moscow to seek help from the Russian Czar for a Slav crusade against the Turks. The policy of accommodation with the Habsburgs which Vitezović advocated was in marked contrast to the solutions which were ventured upon in Hungary during the second half of the seventeenth century. There, certain of the Hungarian magnates had sought to escape what might seem the mighty juggernaut of Habsburg absolutism by coming to terms with the Turks and seeking a future for the Kingdom of Hungary outside the Habsburg Monarchy. Viewed positively, the Conspiracy of the Magnates, referred to by modern Croatian historians as the Zrinski-Frankopan conspiracy, was an attempt by certain Hungarian and Croatian magnates to secure an independent political future for the Kingdom of Hungary. 'Conspiracies' rather than 'conspiracy' would better describe the series of plots which were concocted over a period of six years and under a changing leadership. The brothers ban Nikola and Petar Zrinski with the Hungarian palatine Wesselényi took a leading role from the beginning in 1664, until a

perhaps too expedient wild boar despatched the elder of the two *Zriniades*. Petar Zrinski, who succeeded his brother as ban, was joined by his brother-in-law, Fran Krsto Frankopan and Ferenc Nádasdy, the Hungarian chief justice, as directors of the plotting. This cabal began as an association of magnates dissatisfied with Habsburg rule, in particular Habsburg conduct of the campaign to liberate Hungary and Croatia from the Turks. They wanted the return of their land, often in the literal sense of their hereditary estates. At first they seem to have lacked clear plans for obtaining their objectives. They sought help from the French and the Turks and near to the conspiracy's extinction, plotted to poison the Emperor. A line is drawn to mark the end of this most fitful conspiracy in 1671 with the execution of ban Zrinski, Frankopan and Nádasdy.

The Conspiracy of the Magnates had been bred from political frustration and the anticipation of absolutism rather than the experience of it, although, for the Hungarians, that was to follow in the decade after 1671. It was the Croats living in the Military Frontier, as the case of the Senjani shows, whose experiences of arbitrary rule came closest to that endured by the Hungarians. Those within the Kingdom of Croatia were left with their sabor but without a ban. The visitation of imperial authority which the complicity of their leading magnates in the Conspiracy had provoked, impressed upon the Croatian nobles that they held their privileges on sufferance. How in these circumstances did the dual loyalty exemplified by Vitezović operate without apparently coming into conflict? How was the solution of accommodation fitted to the Croats'

situation so that loyalty to the King could remain a cornerstone of the Croats' political identity?

A second theme under consideration in the following two chapters is the evolution of the historicist approach in Croatian political thought, made manifest in the Croats' handling of that most persistent element within their political thinking: Croatian state-right. By Vitezović's day, state tradition was the prime constituent of national consciousness among the members of the Croatian political nation. Already in his writings it is possible to see how the Croats relied upon arguments based upon the unbroken traditions of the Kingdom of Croatia to defend their position against the Habsburgs.

Vitezović recognized that arguments based upon the Croats' ethnicity, the core of the past two centuries of Croatian humanist scholarship, could not assure for the future the rights of the Croatian political nation. He moved away from the moribund school of late humanist scholarship to examine the substance of the Croats' claims to independent statehood. Touched by the new spirit of historical inquiry exemplified among the Croats by Ivan Lučić and among the Hungarians by Vitezović's sometime correspondent Gábor Hevenesi, he turned to charters, decrees and diplomas to provide decisive evidence. Argument from historical precedent, whether real or imagined, could establish legitimacy and was therefore a practical means of defence. In Hungary during the 1670s, the rebel nobles of the *kuruc* movement had called for the return of the ancient laws and privileges granted by the native kings of their mediaeval kingdom. Working on behalf

of the Senjani, Vitezović cited the privileges which had been granted to the city by Ferdinand I and subsequently confirmed by his succesors. These the Senjani hoped would defend them from the excesses of the German officers of the Inner Austrian War Council.[4] This approach placed the greatest value upon the oldest sources. The earliest documentary evidence for the Kingdom of Croatia came from the ninth century A.D.[5] The Middle Ages, the time of the native monarchs served Vitezović as his source of reference for the 'ancient' rights and precedents which alone could secure the claims being made by the Croatian nobility in the name of the Kingdom of Croatia.

Mythology, it was demonstrated in the previous chapter, can be used by the members of a national élite to affirm their conception of their innate character. In the guise of serious history, national myths also present the same élite with the means to legitimize their political claims. The need for satisfyingly authentic historical evidence prompted the creation of a second national mythology among the Croats, the myth of the mediaeval heyday. The Illyrian Golden Age could serve as a point of moral reference and spiritual inspiration but it could not provide the Croats with the necessary evidence for establishing precedent. Vitezović, through his interest in the mediaeval past of the Kingdom of Croatia, was participating in a much wider European revivial of interest in the Middle Ages. In neighbouring Hungary, historians looked back to the glorious days of the mediaeval King Stephan. Practical considerations of the need to supply evidence were combined with nostalgia for an earlier age of national glory. The Middle Ages had been the heyday of the Kingdom of

Croatia, another golden age. It had been the period when the great native kings and bans had ruled over the greatest stretch of territory. Like the Illyrian Golden Age, the mediaeval heyday underscored the reduced circumstances of the Croats' present. The nostalgia which it excited was directed towards the restitution of the glory of the mediaeval Kingdom, to *Croatia rediviva* as a political reality.

Part One: Unbroken traditions of statehood; the offices of king and ban

Embodied in the political institutions of the king and ban of the Kingdom of Croatia were the unbroken traditions of Croatian statehood. These two political institutions represented the continuity of the Croatian state. It was this continuity, this unbroken political tradition stretching, it was believed, for over a millenium into the past which Vitezović emphasized when writing of the Croatian kings and bans. In the *Banalogia* he claimed that the office of ban had been established in the sixth century by the Belochrobati brothers, familiar from Porphirogenitus' account of Croatian settlers in the Balkans and he finished his study of the office with as near complete a list of Croatian bans as he could furnish.[6] Of the native Croatian kings, there are few mentions of Ostrivoj, the first Croatian king, without reference to the unbroken line of his successors.[7] The same theme appears in Vitezović's vernacular writings. The kings and bans were a common focus of affection for readers of high and low literary genres alike. In one of the vernacular calendars, Vitezović added as an appendix the first part of a complete list of Croatian kings beginning

with the mythical Ostrivoj who supposedly acceded c. A. D. 495 but drawing attention to the fact that there had of course been 'Illyrian, that is Slav, which today we call Croatian' kings before him.[8]

The continuity of the line of kings of Croatia from the fifth century had been challenged in the field of scholarship by Ivan Lučić and this in part explains Vitezović's insistance in *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam* upon Ostrivoj as the first Croatian king. Lučić, basing his arguments upon certain *privilegia*, had questioned established beliefs by claiming that Petar Krešimir (c. 1059-1074) had been the first to hold the title of king. To defend against this attack upon the antiquity of the Kingdom of Croatia, Vitezović provided counter evidence from documentary sources, citing the ancient register of the *privilegia* of the monks of Saint Chrisogonus, 1067. He concluded the debate with the confident declaration that 'Croatia has therefore had its own princes and kings in a continuous series without doubt from Ostrivoj' and blamed *defectus scriptorum* for the gaps in the list of their names.[9]

The offices of king and ban were a direct link with the golden days of the mediaeval kingdom. The native kings of the Middle Ages epitomized the ideal Croatian character, excelling at war and in Christian piety. The name Ostrivoj, according to Vitezović, meant fierce warrior while that of his son Szvevlad carried with it notions of omnipotence. There were saints too, as well as warriors, among the ranks of kings. While his predecessors had numbered several *progonitelj kerstyanszki*, persecutors of the Christians, the godly Svetopelek was the first King of Croatia to be baptized and lived on in history as Saint Budimir.[10]

Three powerful elements of Croatian national consciousness, Croatian statehood, blood and soil were linked together in the native kings and bans. In *Plorantis Croatiae* the land which the Turks lay waste is a palimpsest of potent associations. Individual places assume particular significance because of their connections with the native kings and bans. These connections strengthened the emotional bond between the Croats and Croatian soil. The land of Croatia was the land on which their national history had been enacted. The monastery at Aurana which the Turks sacked had been founded by the Croatian King Zvonimir. When Herberstein, indifferent to such Croatian historical associations, granted Novi to the Venetians, he handed over to the Croats' enemies not only a strategic point but one which had been established by King Tvrtko. The bans and their families had likewise invested the Croatian landscape with emotional content. When the Turks ravaged the Krbava district, it was the *ager Zriniensis*, the Zrinski field which they devastated.[11] The potency of blood and soil is shown by Vitezović's treatment of the life of Saint Ladislav, king of Hungary (1077-1095). Ladislav was already the subject of a thriving cult among the Hungarians. But, for Vitezović, the saint's godliness alone was insufficient reason for him to become a similar focus among the Croats. Vitezović determined to supply the right national content to the legends surrounding the saint's life and he set out to prove that Ladislav was of Croatian ancestry and born on Croatian soil. Having satisfied these requirements and having furnished further evidence of the king-saint's Croatian associations, Vitezović then advocated his cult among the Croats.[12]

Without a native dynasty of their own as a focus for national sentiment, the Croatian élite of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries came increasingly to venerate the bans and the families from which the bans came. Ban Emerik Derencsényi who fell with the flower of the Croatian nobility at the battle of Krbava field in 1493, ban Petar Berislav who in 1520 fell among the Turks at Vraža Gora and ban Nikola Šubić Zrinski of Siget were Croatian national martyrs of whom Vitezović wrote with an affection which is qualitatively different from the formal love which he declared for the non-native kings.[13] The emotional response evoked by Croatian blood and the office of ban is best illustrated by comparing Vitezović's treatment of the two great tableaux from Croatian and Hungarian history of the sixteenth century. The death of the Croatian ban at Siget plunges *Croatia plorans* into depths of grief hitherto unplumbed. Her reaction to the death of her king at the battle of Mohács which gave rise to a whole literature among the Hungarians, is in contrast restrained. *Croatia plorans*, having noted the king's death in the Karas marsh, concentrates upon the vanity of the king's advisers. Croatian blood and the Croatian office of ban evoked a greater response than Polish blood and an alien holder of the Croatian crown.[14]

At a time when national histories tended to be written around the head of state and were therefore monarchocentric, the office of ban could serve the Croatian élite as the focus for writing their national history. In 1652, canon Juraj Rattkay published his history of the Croats from the time of the sons of Noah under the title *Memoria Regum et Banorum regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Sclavoniae*. Towards the end of his life,

Vitezović wrote the *Banalogia* as an attempt to fill the gaps left by Rattkay and earlier writers. His approach was not to use the bans as a vehicle for recounting Croatian history but to investigate specifically the character of the office, in his own words 'a true consideration of the ban's title and the dignity befitting the office, leaving out all questionable things'.[18] Before considering Vitezović's precise thoughts on the dignity of the Croatian ban, some observations are in order on the pertinence of the office in relations between the Croatian political nation and the Habsburg central authorities during the second half of the seventeenth century.

The ban served as the leader of the Croatian nobility. The sapping, real or imaginary, of banal authority was interpreted by the Croatian nobles as the infringement of their influence in their own internal affairs. The Croats' penalty for the participation of their leading families in the Conspiracy of the Magnates had been the suspension of the office of ban for ten years. As with the suspension of the diet and the office of palatine in Hungary, the ten years' vacancy of the office of ban had exposed the vulnerability of the Croatian nobility's powers within their own kingdom. With the imposition of *absolutum dominium* in the Kingdom of Bohemia in mind and nervously eyeing events over the border in Hungary, the Croatian nobles, though confident in their Roman Catholicism, remained in a state of ill-ease. Vitezović was present as the representative of Senj at the diet of Sopron in 1681 when the Emperor Leopold filled the office of palatine and ban and allowed the Hungarian diet to assemble once more. In *Grates pro gratis quas Invictissimo, Augustissimo*

Leopoldo Romanorum Imperatori, Hungaria, Dalmatia, Croatia et Slavonia Regi ac Domino Domino suo Clemmentissimo in fine generalis earundem congregationis voto et assensu partibus agunt (hereafter, *Grates pro gratis*) he voiced the gratitude of the Kingdom of Hungary and the Kingdom of Croatia at the felicitious conclusion of the diet of Sopron.[16]

It was less the sudden demonstration of imperial authority which threatened the Croatian nobles than the reduction of the area of the ban's and therefore their own authority. As the Christian armies advanced, another concern was added, since those crown lands of Croatia which had fallen to the Turks were not being returned to the jurisdiction of the ban and sabor but were being made directly subject to the Imperial War Council. It was this issue which prompted Vitezović to give so much consideration to the borders of the Kingdom of Croatia and to devote a whole section of the *Banalogia* to the precise area of the ban's jurisdiction.

The subject of the *Banalogia* was suggested to Vitezović in 1693 by the bishop of Zagreb and ban's deputy Aleksander Mikulić and by Juraj Plemić the protonotar of the Kingdom, Ivan Drašković, Baltazar Patačić and the *podžupan*, the deputy district officer, Ilijašić.[17] In the same year there were earnest debates in the sabor over the future of liberated lands which culminated in the bid led by the vice-ban Jelačić to secure land between the Kupa and Una directly for the Sabor.[18] It was also the year of the death of Nikola Erdödy whom

Vitezović genuinely admired and it may have been this event which prompted him and his circle towards the subject of the office of ban.'[19] Ádám Batthyány was appointed by the king to succeed Erdődy. Vitezović appears to have viewed Batthyány with circumspection. *Croatia plorans*, struck down with grief for Erdődy, the *pater patriae*, regards the new ban as being foreign and alien in a way which Erdődy, despite his Hungarian name, was not. She treats the necessity of taking a ban *extra patriam* as further proof of impoverishment of the native Croatian stock which once, in an oblique reference to Čeh, Leh and Rus, used to supply rulers for other lands:

Alas, what great lack of substance prostrates poor me
So that the heavy order of the Fates is now turned against me,
That I, once rich in exceptional sons, once strong and wont
To send hence dukes and kings for other lands,
Must now have her duke and viceroy chosen from outside the fatherland!

Finally *Croatia plorans* enjoins Batthyány:

Oh ban, be a father to the fatherland
Have regards for the interests of all![20]

The pattern in the appointment of Hungarian magnates as bans of the Kingdom of Croatia, which was to persist until the early nineteenth century, was already set. But was it a pattern meekly accepted by all the Croatian nobility, the indigenous and usually minor nobles of pure Croatian ancestry as well as those of mixed Hungarian-Croatian blood? Those who suggested the subject of the *Banalogia* to Vitezović were all ostensibly of Croatian stock, with Croatian, not Hungarian family names. Vitezović's words might seem to reflect ill-ease among the Croatian nobility that Croatian interests might be a secondary consideration to their latest ban. Did Batthyány appear, in comparison to Nikola Erdődy, insufficiently 'philo-Croatian' to secure their confidence?

The latest surviving manuscript of the *Banalogia* was ready for publication in 1711. After a gestation of nearly twenty years, it represents the maturation of Vitezović's thoughts on Croatian statehood. It also stands as the latest work in the post-Karlowitz cycle of writings which began with *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam* and *Plorantis Croatiae saecula duo*. Vitezović associated the *Banalogia* with his study, now lost, of how Croatia came under Hungarian law, *Tractatus qualiter Croatia ad ius Ungaricum devenerit*. These were works which he described as 'greatly pertaining to the future honour of the Kingdom of Croatia and worthy of preservation in an archive'.[21] Even without the *Tractatus*, the approach of the *Banalogia* shows that Vitezović's greatest concern was to illuminate the position of the Kingdom of Croatia with regard to the Hungarian crown and thence the Habsburgs. Among his notebooks are the notes he made from Juraj Rattkay against all those who believed that Illyria was subject to Hungary.[22] Vitezović was insisting upon the status of the Kingdom of Croatia as *partes annexae*, not *partes subjugatae*.

Throughout the *Banalogia*, Vitezović stressed the royal origins of the office of ban. The title had, under the native monarchs, been reserved only for those of royal blood, either the son or brother of the king. The authority of the bans had been great:

> If the dignity of the bans' were to be subject to close inspection, it would be apparent that the bans truly were princes, at first absolute, then later subordinate and always supreme during interregna.[23]

Evidence of the princely status of the ban was afforded by the *privilegium super donatione Insulae Mauni* of 1069 in which Petar Krešimir had

declared that 'bans should be respected as princes of his kingdom'.[24] Vitezović furnished proof that the true dignity of the bans had been respected outside the Kingdom of Croatia. The epithets with which the Roman Curia, the ultimate endorser of status in the West, had addressed the bans reflected their regal status: *excellenti et gloriosi* were customarily reserved for foreign kings. The various renditions of the term ban, *vocabulum peregrinum* to so many, pointed in the same direction; the Latin *princeps* and *dux* signifying duke, and the Greek *despot* carried with them appropriate connotations of princeliness.[25]

Having established the dignity of the ban, Vitezović went on to explain at length the considerable authority of the ban within the Kingdom. He devoted separate chapters to discussions of the ban's money, income, residences and authority to regulate taxes, confer citizenship and establish markets and market days.[26] The *Banalogia* ends with a detailed discussion of the area of the ban's jurisdiction then 'more extensive by far than now'.

Vitezović's discussion of the substance of the ban's authority with reference to his own day is pulled in two contrary directions. The quotation above concerning the area of the ban's jurisdiction contrasts the position of the ban in the mediaeval heyday with the reduced circumstances of the present. Throughout the *Banalogia* Vitezović piled detail upon detail to demonstrate the former power, status and authority of the Croatian bans. At the same time as making this contrast, he argued that the legal position of the ban had remained essentially the same under the

Hungarian kings as it had been under the native royal dynasty. This was the position required if he were to achieve his purpose of presenting the office of ban as one of great potential authority within the contemporary Kingdom of Croatia and under the Habsburg monarchy. He set out to prove that the ban's *dignitas* had been forgotten and neglected, like so much of the Croats' national culture, rather than legally diminished.

Vitezović argued that the position of the ban was that of a viceroy or vicar of the king, a notion which he reinforced by his own preferred Latin rendition of the title ban as *pro-rex*:

> But just as long ago, under the native kings, the dignity of the bans was honoured first [sc. after the king]; so afterwards, under the Hungarian [sc. kings], it was made out as vicarious.[27]

He found evidence for this in the *privilegium* granted to the city of Trogir dated 25th March 1362, in which there appeared the phrase ' the vicar general of the king, or ban'. He concluded that after the initial assaults upon the laws of the Kingdom by King Kálmán, there had not been any diminution of the bans's authority under the Hungarian kings who had respected the pre-eminence of the ban.[28]

Yet it was a fact that the prestige of the bans had been weakened. It was indeed this that had necessitated Vitezović's study of the office. He explained the diminution of the *praerogativa*, privilege, of the ban's name in terms now familar from the discussion of moral decline in Chapter Three:

> The *praerogativa* of the ban's name began to diminish without doubt at that time when the Hungarian kings also began to adopt *mores exteros*, foreign ways. Hungary, and Croatia likewise, nurtured few natives who knew the Latin language and so they were wont very often to use *alieni*, foreigners, to create written records.[29]

Here was another instance of the harm caused to the Croats by *defectus scriptorum*. The sons of the king then wanted to be known as dukes and their deputies as bans, 'although to us ban should be in Latin *dux* or *prorex*, not *produx*'. Such were the perils of following foreign fashion. The ban's legal position had however not been affected. Under the Habsburgs, the position of the ban continued as before. The Emperors Matthias and Ferdinand II had confirmed that the ban was 'pre-eminent in every respect of their ancient authority within the confines of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia'. Bringing the situation up to date, Vitezović noted that at the diet of Sopron it had been confirmed that the ban enjoyed the same power in Croatia as the palatine in Hungary.[80]

Here in Vitezović's writings is a clear articulation of Croatian political culture. Croatian statehood was focused in two institutions; the king and the ban. These institutions, having persisted with the changes of ruling dynasty, remained an unbroken tradition from the earliest times of the Kingdom of Croatia. The authority of both the king and the ban were clearly defined by reference to their position in the past. This is to consider one side of Vitezović's political loyalty. It is now time to look once again at the office of king but with reference to the relationship between the ruling dynasty, the Habsburgs, and their Croatian subjects.

Part Two: The Habsburgs; *constantia, clementia and pietas*

In the previous section, attention was drawn to the importance of Croatian blood in evoking devotion and veneration. It was argued that while the offices of king and ban were still respected as part of the Kingdom's political tradition, the holder of that office, if foreign, was afforded a formal loyalty or treated with circumspection. With the accession of the Habsburg dynasty, another attitude is discernible in Vitezović's writings. He composed formal and elaborate declarations of loyalty to the Emperor and his household. Such panegyrics celebrating the House of Habsburg were being written elsewhere within the Habsburg Empire. These verses, crammed full of baroque wordplay and imagery, now seem stiff and lifeless, but it would be a mistake to take as hollow the sentiments expressed within them.[31]

An unexpected supranational sentiment pervades Vitezović's homages to the House of Habsburg. He rarely accorded Croatia a voice separate from that of Hungary and political distinctions are abandoned as Croatia and Hungary voice their loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty itself. His verses on the birth of the Archduke Joseph are spoken by Hungary alone and it is *Ungaria pullata* who has donned her mourning garb to speak his lines on the death of the same Joseph as Emperor. The inclusion of a verse by Hungary alongside those of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia in *Grates pro gratis* bespeaks a close identification of Croatian and Hungarian fortunes. In his verses of this type expressing loyalty, Hungary and Croatia rejoice and suffer in equal measure with their king. Together they celebrate the strength of the ruling house, sharing the Habsburgs'

dynastic ambitions, hoping for the Imperial armies' victory in the War of the Spanish Succession, relishing their successes over the perfidious French. When *Pannonia* and *Hispania* had been united, who, asked Hungary still in mourning, would be a greater king than Charles, King of Hungary?[32] There is no trace in such lines of the rancour of the Hungarian and Croatian nobility at the western orientation of Habsburg foreign policy. For the moment Vitezović subordinated national interests to dynastic ambitions.

Close consideration of Vitezović's writings reveals the philosophical basis for this loyalty. The teachings of the neo-stoics demanded that steadfast loyalty and submission to one's ruler which in the past had been evoked among the Croats as the concomitant of native blood. The relationship between the ruler and the ruled, the Emperor and his subjects is regulated in Vitezović's idealized conception by two virtues, *clementia* and *pietas*. *Clementia*, clemency or a merciful forbearance for the errors of others, was the great quality in rulers which tempered their exercise of absolute authority. It was the subject of a treatise by the stoic Seneca who had famously recommended it to his protégé Nero.[33] *Pietas* or piety, was a hybrid virtue bred, like neo-stoicism itself, of Christian and classical morality. *Pietas* represented Christian piety. The exemplary *pietas* of Austria and of the Habsburgs was part of the imperial cult of the late seventeenth century. *Pietas* was also the Roman piety which combined veneration of the gods with the kind of patriotic altruism exemplified by Aeneas when he sacrificed personal interest to pursue the destiny of his nation. *Pietas* carried with it notions of duty and

obligation. Vitezović equated *pietas* with *cura populi*, care of the people. Accordingly, a ruler's *pietas* was to be measured by his faithfulness in carrying out his duties towards his subjects. The fortune of a country depended upon royal *pietas* since 'good laws alone' were not sufficient to ensure prosperity. Without a *pius* ruler, a land was like a land without sunshine and *infelix* indeed was that land where the sun did not shine.[34] In this way Vitezović implied that the relationship between the Emperor and his subjects was contractual. This was more than an appeal to a gentlemanly code of conduct for rulers. The Croatian crown was still elective and the Emperor held it through negotiation with the sabor of the Kingdom of Croatia.

The correct exercise of *pietas* and *clementia* distinguished the ruler of the stoic ideal from the tyrant. The neo-stoics' political philosophy had found champions among intellectuals throughout Europe. The remainder of this discussion considers how Vitezović interpreted this philosophy and the virtues of *clementia* and *pietas* in the context of two events which dominated relations between the Croats and the Habsburg Emperor during the last quarter of the seventeenth century: the Conspiracy of the Magnates with the 1681 Diet of Sopron, and the 1699 Peace of Karlowitz and the issue of the liberation of the crown lands of the Kingdom of Croatia.

The relationship between the Emperor and his Croat subjects is nicely illustrated by the *Nova Musa* anthology. The frontispiece (figure 1, p. 9) shows Croatia in the guise of the goddess Athena, that

exemplary reconciliation of the sword and the pen. She stands beneath the motto, 'Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia, kingdoms which were ever steadfast to their God and King in religion, faith and war'. Combined with the theme of loyalty to the Emperor is loyalty to the Church of Rome, the Faith. Yet behind the apparently confident motto, there lies ill-ease and discontent. *Constantia*, steadfastness, was more than loyalty. It was also the spirit of resistance, the virtue which enabled the true stoic to stand firm *in publicis malis*, amid civic upheaval. With this association *constantia*, the rallying cry of the neo-stoics, would have had a particular resonance for Vitezović and his contemporaries in Croatia and Hungary.

Grates pro gratis, the main verse in the anthology, was composed to mark the conclusion of the diet at Sopron in 1681 which Vitezović had attended as representative of Senj. In effect the Hungarian and Croatian constitutions had been restored after their ten year suspension as a punishment for the involvement of the leading members of both political nations in a conspiracy against the Emperor. At Sopron, the office of Hungarian palatine was filled and the Hungarian diet was allowed to meet once again. The impeccable Nikola Erdődy was appointed to the office of ban of Croatia, vacant since the execution of the too-peccable Petar Zrinski. Vitezović dedicated *Nova Musa* to Erdődy and, speaking as Dalmatia, Vitezović greeted his appointment as a show of imperial *clementia*:

But you, renowned King, by imperial decree,
With clemency extend your arms to your poor servant,
And grant Nikola Erdődy as ban,
A man distinguished by his own and his ancestors' virtues,

Grates pro gratis is a celebration of imperial *clementia*, of official forgiveness at the end of an episode in Croatian history which had cast doubts upon the Croats' loyalty.

Plorantis Croatiae, written twenty years after *Grates pro gratis*, contains clear statements of Vitezović's neo-stoic principles. Writing of Nikola Zrinski the younger's loyal service, he observed that:

> The law holds us to the faithful service of our princes,
> It befits us to give faithful service to our princes
> Our princes who are the salvation of the people,
> If the *patria* is a mother to her citizens,
> Then a prince deserves the honour due to a father.[35]

Kings held their position by divine right. 'A prince', he wrote, 'is born to his kingdom, and the gods above grant crowns'. A kingdom that did not rest upon divine sufferance but upon arms and money was liable to be *infirmum*, unstable.[36] Accordingly, he condemned all those who showed anything less than submission to God-given royal authority. Those who did venture to challenge the established order and hierarchy, he portrayed as ludicrous and hubristic. It was said that Matija Gubec, the leader of a peasant rebellion in 1573 in north Croatia, had declared himself king. Vitezović was familiar with this version of events and made much of Gubec's regal pretensions. In his view, Gubec's rebellion was doomed to failure 'since the mattock and the sceptre mix ill together'. He recounted with real *Schadenfreude* the peasant leader's execution and mock coronation with a white-hot iron crown.[37]

Vitezović's inclination was always to disassociate Croatia from rebellion. Croatia was after all the Kingdom ever steadfast in its loyalty to its

king. His frequent association of rebellion with the otherwise near absent *plebs* was a way of distancing Croatia from any taint of disloyalty; the common masses were outside his understanding of what was Croatian and therefore their disaffection could not impugn Croatia's reputation.[39] Another way in which he distanced Croatia from disloyalty was by playing up the Hungarian element in any rebellion, avoiding any suggestion of Croatian involvement or even sympathy.[39] Neither course was open to him when writing of the role of Petar Zrinski and Fran Krsto Frankopan in the Conspiracy of the Magnates. Having held up their forefathers as evidence of all that was finest in the Croatian character, he could not disown them as being other than Croats. Instead he used Petar Zrinski and Fran Frankopan as powerful symbols of decline in the nation's moral fibre. Vitezović condemned them, like Gubec, for their hubris and held up Petar Zrinski as a salutary warning:

> Punished by the sword, he left the lesson (*documenta*)
> That others being warned might learn justice and not to scorn the gods
> And that sacred crowns are dealt out by heavenly lot.[40]

Vitezović's account of the conspiracy, of its cause and motivation is a medley of themes, some already familar. Speaking with his moralizer's voice in *Plorantis Croatiae*, he condemned that perennial bugbear of the moralist, *otia* or idleness. *Otia* not only causes *magnanimas mentes* to grow torpid, but it is is the greatest originator of *res novae*, revolution. Vitezović returned to this theme in *Vita et martyrium Beati Vladimiri Croatiae Regis* where he sententiously condemned that idleness which made men ill prepared for war and exposed the *patria* to its enemies.[41] Vladimir's people is, by reason of its Illyrian blood, fitted to war.

Likewise, Petar Zrinski is by nature born 'for arms, not for the pen'. In Vitezović's account of the year 1671, the downward spiral of events begins when Zrinski, the man of action, is ordered to lay down his sword and helmet. It is then, in these novel circumstances of *otia* that he becomes prey to the counsel of certain *Mercuriorum*, eloquent advisers who persuade him to bid for the 'august honours of the living king'. Vitezović transfered the moral responsibility to these advisers and ended the narration with a set-piece denunciation of 'Cunning counsel at first so sweet, then so hard to bear' which he combined with the same misogynist sentiments to be found in his collections of maxims.[42]

The literary motifs cover Vitezović's sophisticated appreciation of the frustration which lay behind Petar Zrinski's challenge to the Emperor. Discussions of the motivation of the magnate conspirators commonly refer to the frustration which certain Hungarian and Croatian nobles felt with the Habsburgs' reluctance to sustain a concerted war of liberation against the Turks. The 1664 Peace of Vasvár is specified as the decisive betrayal of Hungarian and Croatian interests which nudged into conspiracy the Zrinski brothers, whose disenchantment was laid bare in their pointed accounts of how the Habsburgs had failed their great-grandfather at Siget. According to this account, they and their fellow magnates aspired to an accommodation with the Turks entailing total internal freedom for Hungary as part of the Ottoman Empire. In the 1680s, the same frustration moved Imre Thököly, condemned by Vitezović as the *Ungaricae plebis dux* propped up by Turkish arms, to seek to establish a Turkish protectorate.[43] The themes of *Otia* and the laid aside sword and

helmet warn of the dangers of Habsburg foreign policy towards the Ottoman Porte. But while Vitezović comprehended Thököly and the Hungarian magnates' frustration, he condemned their methods.

The 1699 Peace of Karlowitz called forth from Vitezović what Ferdo Šišić termed 'a fiery protest'.[44] It represented the failure of imperial *pietas*, of the Emperor's obligations towards his Croatian subjects. Foremost among the duties of a ruler which Vitezović enumerated was the protection of his subjects from their enemies. In *Grates pro gratis*, he represented the Emperor coming to the aid of Hungary as a latter-day *pius Aeneas* at Troy.[45] Each in turn of the constituent parts of the Kingdom of Croatia appealed to the Emperor to restore their lost lands. In a short verse which he addressed to the infant archduke Joseph on the occasion of his coronation as King of Hungary, Vitezović set out his precise expectations. He seems to have been inspired in writing this verse by the so-called Messianic eclogue of Virgil. Certain imagery within the two verses is similar and there is an obvious parallel in the circumstances of their composition. Both the infants celebrated by Vitezović and by Virgil are expected to usher in an era of peace and prosperity after years of civil strife. In Vitezović's verse, the infant Joseph lies in his cradle from whence flows milk and honey. An august mission awaits him; he is to restore the Golden Age of the mediaeval King Stephan, to defeat the Turks and to restore the Faith.[46] Thirty years later, when he lamented the unrealized expectations of the same Joseph in *Ungaria Pullata*, Vitezović was yet more specific. Joseph was to have restored the *Jura Coronae*, the rights of the crown and the lost

lands of Croatia, namely Dalmatia, the Adriatic islands, Bosnia, Dacia, Serbia and Bulgaria so that the Kingdom's boundaries would once again be with the Thracians, Italians and Poles. With some poetic license, Joseph's unfulfilled mission was the programme which Vitezović had presented to Joseph's father, the Emperor Leopold as the *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam* and *Regia Illyriorum Croata sive Croatia Rediviva*.

The Emperor, by the terms of the Peace of Karlowitz, failed to carry out these specific obligations. Vitezović voiced his disatisfaction with imperial foreign policy at the time of the Peace of Karlowitz which, like the 1664 Peace of Vasvár, showed the split between the Emperor's interests and the interests of the Croats and Hungarians. For the sake of a swift conclusion in order to concentrate on maintaining Spain for the House of Habsburg, the Emperor had returned much of liberated Bosnia and all of southeast Srijem to the Turks while Venetian power appeared confirmed along the Adriatic coast. In the elegy *Ad Comitem Marsilium Caesareum Legatum* which Vitezović addressed to Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, the Emperor's agent whom he accompanied on the commission to determine the borders after the Peace of Karlowitz, he ventured into overt criticism of the Emperor's policies towards the east, presenting the Peace as a failure of imperial *pietas*, a falling short of the contract between the Emperor and his subjects. It is his one masterpiece of invective and quotation alone can reveal the mood in which it was composed. It is Croatia herself who speaks:

After so many tumults of war and fortunate triumphs
I enter upon novel kisses of peace with the Turks
And so that we might seem joined by a yet greater love
I yield to him my own lands, with you as mediator,
Kisses are, I confess, hard for me, hard for me is cession
Too uncommon is this love, its way unwonted
Not before has the Turk extorted kisses from me when conquered
The kisses of the conquered were never for me a pledge
My kisses were saved for my dear friends
It is perversion to prostitute to an enemy what is sacred,
I have not learnt to yield my native land without blood,
The greatest preservation was always in the sword,
But since God has wished it thus and the King gives his command
For certain, when in heaven Jupiter is king
On earth, Caesar holds supreme rule
So great however is the clemency of pious Caesar
That to a conquered enemy he grants both life and wealth,
Therefore, let the Thracian know, if he is held by any faith,
That whatever he holds, he owes all to my Caesar.[47]

Vitezović condemned the peace with the Turks as a love which went against the natural order. Using the strongest term for an immoral act, he called it a *scelus*, a perversion. Yet, even in these circumstances, Croatia can but obey her ruler whose *clementia*, ever a source of wonder for its seemingly boundless magnitude, has been stretched too far. Here, in these lines is the voice of 'fiery protest'. This anger, though, was channelled towards the creation of a political programme to secure Croatia's future within the framework of the Habsburg monarchy.

From this outrage at the Peace of Karlowitz followed Vitezović's great cycle of writings, the core of which was concerned with the delineation of the borders of Croatia. The first work in the cycle was the memorandum which Vitezović compiled for Marsigli and then re-worked as the *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*. This published work attracted the attention of the Emperor Leopold who commissioned the study of the

borders of Croatia which survives as the manuscript *Regia Illyriorum Croata sive Croatia Rediviva*. Later Vitezović pursued the controversy with the theories of Ivan Lučić which he had begun in these studies and compiled *Offuciae Joannis Lucii de Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae Refutatae*, a chapter-by-chapter critique of his old antagonist. The *Banalogia* also belongs within this cycle as does *Plorantis Croatiae* which, as well as a source for Vitezović's social comment, is an eloquent expresion of the betrayed hopes and disquiet of the Croatian nobility after the Peace of Karlowitz.

* * *

Having read Vitezović's political writings, there can be no doubt as to the clarity with which he conceived the political identity of Croatia. The facts as he understood them are easy to discern. The king, ban and sabor were the cornerstones of Croatian statehood. This statehood had continued unbroken from the very inception of the Kingdom of Croatia in the Middle Ages. No confusion exists over the distinctions between Croatian and Hungarian statehood. The Croats have established their own relationship with their king, the Habsburg Emperor. They are steadfast in their loyalty. The line which Vitezović expounded reflected the general attitude of the nobility of the Kingdom of Croatia. The execution of Petar Zrinski and Fran Krsto Frankopan, it is often claimed, left the Croatian nobility without leadership. Yet the impression that has been left of the Croatian nobility in the decades after 1671 is of a body fractious and defensive but certainly not a body of rudderless would-be insurgents. Imre Thököly in the 1670s and

Ferenc Rákóczi in the 1700s would not appear to have gathered substantial support from among the Croats, although Vitezović's wife's wayward brother seems to have toyed with the idea of supporting Rákóczi, perhaps as much as anything to discomfort his unimpeachably loyal brother-in-law. The association between loyalty as a Croatian and disloyalty as a Hungarian characteristic is neatly captured in a play which the school-boys of the Zagreb grammar school enacted under the supervision of their Jesuit masters in 1704: *Regni Croatiae felicitas*. And why was Croatia *felix*? Because 'she can and wishes to be under her lawful king while in contrast Spain and Scotland are unhappy because they can't be and Poland and Hungary will not submit to their lawful king'.[46] The youth of the Croatian élite was being instructed to count its blessings, and indeed, with their king, ban and sabor their lot was fortunate when compared to that of the Spaniards whose crown was the object of a war which divided the states of Europe and of the Scots pining for their Catholic king over the water while the Poles and the Hungarians (i.e. Rákóczi and his rebel hordes) were torn yet again by civil strife. The Croatian nobility was content to be under its lawful king. In 1712, the members of the Croatian sabor were ready to accept the Pragmatic Sanction, the first parliament within the Habsburg Monarchy to do so.

There was a practical as well as a theoretical and sentimental side to Vitezović's loyalty. His ambition was that Croatia should be *redivivа* as a great kingdom. He looked to the Emperor to realize this ambition since the Emperor had, he believed, the military power at his disposal and since the Emperor would by right be the king of such an enlarged Kingdom of

Croatia. Politically astute, Vitezović also realized that the Emperor could not countenance the creation of a mighty Kingdom of Croatia outside his authority. The next chapter considers the practical programme for the future of Croatia which Vitezović presented to the Emperor in the aftermath of the Peace of Karlowitz.

CHAPTER SIX

The Kingdom of Croatia: national boundaries

..... *Regnumque ampliоribus olim terminis describebatur.*

..... and the Kingdom was once delineated by wider boundaries.[1]

Ampliores longe quam nunc Banalis jurisdictionis termini extiterunt.

The limits of the ban's jurisdiction were far wider than now.[2]

National territory, whether defined by internationally recognized borders or vividly drawn in the mind, whether possessed or the subject of nostalgic longing or political aspiration, is a basic element of national identity and no less factitious than the other elements of national identity. So far, two aspects of national territory have been considered in the context of Pavao Ritter Vitezović's ethnographic work. In the sense of their original homeland, Vitezović was satisfied that the Croats were autochthonous in Croatia, in the land which he and his contemporaries inhabited. But his works abound in accounts of boundaries and limits stretching far beyond the surviving 'remains of the remains' of the Kingdom of Croatia. The land- and people-catalogues represent another understanding of national territory in the sense of the territory inhabited by the whole nation. In this case the limits of the Croats' or Illyrians' national territory were drawn on the basis of membership of the

Croatian or Illyrian nation or according to the identifying cultural criterion of language.

This chapter considers how state territory defined by strict political boundaries can become national territory. It sometimes seems that national identities grow to fill out the space of a state. The seventeenth-century Dutch in their newly created state and later the French seem to be examples of this phenomenon. The more familiar situation is when a nation claims that territory outside its state is national territory, even when the inhabitants of that territory would claim to be members of a different nation. While the Dutch were creating their state and their national identity, the Croatian élite was seeking to extend the limits of the Kingdom of Croatia, a programme of expansion which was framed in terms of returning the *patria* to its rightful limits.

How and why do members of a nation regard a particular piece of territory as their own and incorporate it into their national identity? In the previous chapter it was shown how the Croatian élite invested the Croatian state with national content so that the institutions of Croatian government could become elements of their national identity. Even a seemingly alien Austrian Emperor could be accommodated within Croatian national identity as the holder of the Croatian crown and the succesor of the native kings of the glorious Croatian past. In the same way, alien territory can also become invested with national content and claimed as national territory.

In the decade after the 1699 Peace of Karlowitz, Vitezović produced a series of boundary definitions of Croatia which extended far beyond the limits of any historically founded Kingdom of Croatia. This Croatia was *tota Croatia*, the 'whole Croatia', which he duly presented to the Emperor Leopold as his legitimate possession through the Croatian crown.* With his bold outline for a Croatia which ranged over much of the Balkan peninsula, Vitezović supplied various proofs in support of this territorial aggrandizement. The greater part of these proofs was based upon historical precedent since, at that period, such legalistic arguments alone could support real territorial claims against those of other states. The substance of these legal arguments was often heavy with national associations harking back to the supposed golden age of the mediaeval monarchy. At the same time as making legal points, Vitezović supplied such wholly ethnographic details as, for example, that the inhabitants of a region spoke Croatian or were known by the Croatian national name. Observable amid this long and often obscure reasoning are the processes by which geo-political claims become fleshed out with national content, in other words how a particular tract of land becomes part of national identity.

If, in 1699, Vitezović had been concerned with authenticity alone, he might have been content with the restoration of the Kingdom of Croatia to the boundaries which had existed before the Ottoman invasion and the re-establishment of the other Balkan kingdoms of Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece. Instead he aspired to the creation of a far ranging Kingdom of Croatia which in effect embraced, as he thought it, all the South Slavs.

At this juncture, it is useful to consider what political ambitions were guiding Vitezović as he set out to justify political territory as national territory.

* * *

The redrawing of political boundaries in south-east Europe had become a real prospect to be entertained since the Turks' failure to take Vienna in 1683 and the beginning of their slow but steady withdrawal from central Europe during the remainder of the 1680s and 1690s. For the first time, there arose the problem which was to challenge the European great powers for the following two centuries; who would take over the Ottomans' position of hegemony in south-east Europe and the eastern Mediterranean? In the late seventeenth century the main parties aspiring to build an empire in the footsteps of the retreating Turks were the Venetian Republic and the Viennese Court. The Venetians, as members of the Holy Alliance since 1684, were manoeuvering to regain their former influence in the eastern Mediterranean and to resume the process of consolidating their position along the east coast of the Adriatic. In 1687, they negotiated an agreement with the Emperor Leopold that allowed them to extend their power over Dalmatia alone of the lands which they freed and which had once been subject to Hungary through the Croatian crown.[4] The Venetians hoped that participation would bring with it the chance for expansion along the eastern shores of the Adriatic. At Vienna, the mercantilists sought immediate expansion into the Danubian basin. By expanding the Military Frontier into territory newly liberated from the Turks, the

Viennese Court could extend the area under its direct administration. Yet Court ambition extended beyond the Danube to contemplate the eventual possession of the Balkan peninsula.

In the course of the eighteenth century, other great powers would join the competition to fill the place of the retreating Turks. Nearer to home, the Croats were soon apprised of their Magyar neighbours' ambitions to expand. The Hungarian magnates gathered in the Diet at Pozsony in 1708 made it known that they aspired to the inclusion of Croatia within a liberated and extended Kingdom of Hungary. Individual nations still under Ottoman rule began in turn to be filled with expectations of their own imminent liberation and to contemplate their political futures. Although the first of the great independence movements of the Balkans was to get under way only in the late eighteenth century, over a century before the first Serbian revolts the Serb Djordje Branković (1645-1711), encouraged by the events of the 1680s and 1690s, planned the restoration of the mediaeval Kingdom of Serbia with himself as despot. His kingdom, which he called the free state of the Illyrian peoples in the petition which he sent to the Viennese Court in 1688, would be a South Slav Kingdom stretching from the Black Sea to the Adriatic. While the Emperor Leopold recognized Branković's potential for galvanizing the Serbs to join in the task of driving back the Turks, he did not welcome his personal ambitions. Although Branković wanted the Habsburg Emperor as the supreme ruler, bolstered by family traditions and documents he declared himself to be the legitimate heir of the last Serbian despots and foresaw for himself the position of ruler in a separate state. Vienna was

unwilling to tolerate the creation of any new independent states in south-eastern Europe. Such a scheme as Branković's challenged the Court's plans for expansion in the region. Branković, after a colourful career, ended his days a prisoner of the Emperor with a reputation as 'a swindler in the grand manner'.

Pavao Ritter Vitezović's *tota Croatia* was a Croat-centred solution to the future of south-east Europe after the Ottoman withdrawal. Unlike Branković, he accommodated his plans to Viennese interests since he presented the expanded Kingdom of Croatia to the Emperor as his hereditary possession through the Croatian crown. Indeed it was to the Emperor Leopold and his son Joseph as kings of Croatia that Vitezović dedicated his great schemes for a Croatia which could range over the greater part of the Balkan peninsula. After many years of trying to gain recognition at Court, in 1700 Vitezović finally found himself projected into the Emperor's favour.

It was the members of the Croatian sabor who had appointed Vitezović to represent their interests to the border commission which was to determine the boundaries between the Habsburg, Venetian and Ottoman Empires under the terms of the Peace of Karlowitz. Neither they, nor the members of the Hungarian diet, had been granted formal representation at the peace negotiations and they were worried at the preponderance on the commission of agents of the Inner Austrian War Council, in particular Count Herberstein. They feared that the terms of the Peace would not bring about any expansion of the Croatian banate since Herberstein and his

supporters would secure the absorption of the liberated land allowed to the Emperor into the Military Frontier as part of the Varaždin generalcy, independent of the administration of the Croatian ban and sabor. It was therefore in order to have some influence over the proceedings that the members of the sabor sent Vitezović as an adviser to Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli who was himself present on the commission as an adviser to the Emperor's formal representatives. An expert on the workings of the Ottoman Porte and a member of the mercantilist party at the Viennese court, Marsigli entertained at heart the Emperor's imperial ambitions. He asked Vitezović to provide him with an account of the borders of the Kingdom of Croatia while he looked to the promotion of trade links between Vienna and Constantinople and gathered material for his detailed survey of the natural resources of the Danubian basin. It was in these circumstances that Vitezović produced the memorandum *Responsio ad postulata illustrissimo ac excellentissimo domino, domino Aloysio Ferdinando comiti Marsiglio* which in 1700 he re-worked as the *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*.[6]

Vitezović had been chosen by the sabor because of his expert knowledge of Croatian history and the rights of the Croatian crown. He had already been actively involved in the 1690s in promoting the interests of the sabor in liberated territory against the claims of the Inner Austrian War Council. When the land between the rivers Kupa and Una was liberated, for the most part through the efforts of the Croats under the leadership of their ban, the sabor had declared its readiness to undertake the region's administration since it had been part of the banate until the

Turkish conquest in the late sixteenth century. Like the sabor, Vitezović realized that members of the Inner Austrian War Council, the Styrians as he called them, intended to absorb the region into their administration. Writing from Ljubljana in 1695 to the bishop of Zagreb, Stjepan Šelišćević, he proposed the raising of a loan from the Republic of Geneva to purchase land around the Una. The consequences of inaction were clear to him; the Styrians would later in times of peace force the Croats, 'once such trusty brave defenders' to become their vassals and would change 'the name of the once free Kingdom of Croatia into the servile name of Styria'.[7] The following year, Šelišćević went to Vienna to argue the Croats' case and with the sabor drew up a commission which was to defend, before an imperial committee, the Croatian sabor's rights to the land around the river Una. The efforts of the sabor and Šelišćević came to nothing. By the terms of the Peace of Karlowitz, certain key positions along the Una were returned to the Turk while the remainder was absorbed into the Military Frontier. As the imperial commissioners set about administering the terms of the peace, they encountered the calculated truculence and obstructionism of the Croatian nobility.[8]

In which direction did the ambitions of the Croatian sabor lie? Besides the area between the Kupa and the Una, the Imperial War Council had assumed control of Slavonia, of all the liberated lands to the east lying between the river Sava and the Danube with the exception of south-east Srijem which was returned to the Turks. Slavonia had long been an area of contention between the Croatian sabor and the Hungarian kings at first,

then later the Emperor. Since the Turks had been driven from Slavonia, the sabor had sought the inclusion of liberated Slavonia within the banate and Šelišćević had likewise endeavoured to draw the region within the Zagreb bishopric. During the late 1690s, numerous Croatian nobles petitioned the Emperor for the return of their family estates or for a grant of Slavonian land in recognition of their past services. Vitezović himself was among these petitioners.* The aspirations of the bishop alone were fulfilled. When it came to drawing the boundaries in that region, Vitezović claimed that the Danube had been the northern boundary, thus emphatically including Slavonia within the Kingdom of Croatia. [10]

To the east of the sabor's jurisdiction lay Bosnia, formerly an independent state but held by the Ottomans since 1463. The liberation of Bosnia had been the great objective of the Croatian sabor at the beginning of the Vienna war when ban Erdödy had written to the bishop of Zagreb, Martin Borković, that 'his heart drew him towards Bosnia'. [11] Bosnia was the object of private ambition among the Croatian nobility. During the 1680s and 1690s, Vitezović was commissioned to conduct research into various families' claims to land which they thought would soon be freed. [12] The bishop of Zagreb called upon his services to expound the relationship between the Bosnian bishoprics and the Zagreb bishopric. [13] That the war in 1699 prevented the Croats from pressing on into Bosnia was one of the causes of the sabor's bitter disappointment, a disappointment expressed by Vitezović in the elegy he addressed to Marsigli where Croatia ends her lament, hoping for the day when Marsigli will return to her the keys of

Jajce and the fields of Bosnia and Srijem.'[14] - The extent of this nostalgia among the Croatian nobility for *their* Bosnia is reflected in Vitezović's choice of subject for his last book. He published *Bosna Captiva* with the assistance of the vice-ban Keglević at a time when he was in dire financial straits, doubtless in the hope that the Croats' enthusiasm for Bosnia would prove a lucrative stream to tap. In the work, he recounted how the Bosnian nobles, the high-minded forefathers of many Croatian nobles, had fled to Croatia, preferring their Catholic faith to their estates. He dedicated the work to the vice-ban Keglević in whose archives he had worked, and in the introduction he traced the family's close connections with Bosnia.'[15] The authors of the introductory poems in praise of Vitezović's work lament the grevious loss of Bosnia and look to the day when it and *totum Illyricum* would be restored to the Emperor Charles.'[16] But what did these writers understand by *totum Illyricum*? Beyond Bosnia and Srijem lay the rest of the Balkan peninsula, soon, it was believed, to be relieved of the Ottoman yoke. Illyricum, it has been demonstrated, had always been a vague and flexible notion. With Vitezović's programme in mind, where might not the ambitions of the Croatian nobility end?

The memorandum which Vitezović produced for the Emperor Leopold survives, it would appear, only as the manuscript *Regia Illyriorum* It had been the arguments which he put forward in connection with the southern boundaries of Croatia which had excited the attention of the Emperor and the Hungarian Chancery. These arguments, they believed, could serve to defend imperial interests against the claims made by the Venetian

Republic in the name of Dalmatia. At the Peace of Karlowitz the Venetians claimed large parts of the Dalmatian hinterland, the Dalmatian Zagorje between the rivers Zrmanja and Cetina. The Venetians claimed not only those parts of the coast between the Zrmanja and Cetina rivers which had formerly been theirs but also the inland regions including the towns of Knin, which had been in their hands since 1688, Vrlika, Sinj, Vrgorac and Gabela on the Neretva. The term Dalmatia, used in the 1687 agreement between the Venetian Republic and the Emperor, was open to interpretation. Did it refer just to that land along the Adriatic coast which the Venetians had governed as their Dalmatian possessions? Or did it refer, as the Venetians were assuming in 1699, to all the land which had ever been termed Dalmatia and which had not necessarily belonged to the Republic at the time of the Turkish invasion?

The prospect of Venetian expansion into the interior roused the sabor to protest and prompted the Emperor to issue a memorandum asserting that this land belonged to Croatia and the Hungarian crown. Vitezović was summoned to Vienna bearing any documents which he might have that had a bearing upon the boundaries of 'our Kingdom of Croatia'.[17] Although much of the material from the *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam* reappears in *Regia Illyriorum*, the two works are substantially different in character. In response to the Emperor's request, the overall purport of *Regia Illyriorum* is to prove that *Dalmatiam nullam esse*, that 'there is no Dalmatia'.[18] Throughout the work he pursued a dogged polemic with the works of Ivan Lučić which he believed were the source of the Venetians' claims. Long after the Emperor's attention had been diverted from the

east by the problems of the Spanish succession, Vitezović persisted in his refutation of Lučić, an obsession which culminated in the more than two hundred closely argued pages of *Offuciae Joannis Lucii de Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae Refutatae*.

The potential range of the Croatia which Vitezović outlined in the *Regia Illyriorum* shows his understanding of the extent of the Emperor's ambitions in the Balkans. He dedicated his programmes for the revival of Croatia to 'Leopold mighty Emperor of the Romans, and to Joseph, the most invincible, apostolic and most glorious kings of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia and *tota Croatia*'. The last, apparently innovatory element in the customary imperial and royal title was, he explained in *Regia Illyriorum*, an inclusive term which dispensed with the need to list separately Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia, Rama and Serbia.'[19] Its distinguished origins lay in the days of the mediaeval Croatian kings and bans who had claimed to rule *tota Croatia*.[20] He created a scheme which satisfied the ambitions of the Viennese court for an empire in south-east Europe since the Kingdom was to remain under the Habsburgs. It also satisfied the ambitions of the Croatian sabor since as the Kingdom of Croatia it was an expanded banate with the Croatian ban and sabor holding sway within its limits.

The definition of the Kingdom of Croatia which Vitezović put forward in *Regia Illyriorum* and the *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam* represents the core of his political programme. This was the kingdom which he wanted revived under its legitimate king and government bodies. The new title

which he recommended to Leopold could be made to embrace a large part of the territory in south-east Europe to which the Habsburg court aspired and united it within one political entity, the resurrected Kingdom of Croatia. The task which lay before Vitezović was to establish the legitimate right of the Emperor Leopold as king of Croatia and the right of the native organs of the Kingdom's government to rule *tota Croatia*.

It now remains to consider the material with which he substantiated these ambitious claims.

Tota Croatia

This section is less concerned with the conclusions which Vitezović reached concerning the precise limits of Croatia than with the arguments he employed to reach those conclusions. Indeed, it would be difficult to draw a map of *tota Croatia* on the basis of the surviving material. Although he sometimes referred to such tangible geographical features as rivers and mountains in setting limits, he generally laid claim to a whole region by its name alone without reaching any firm conclusions about where that region began and ended. His vagueness with regard to the eastern boundaries of Croatia was deliberate. If the imperial armies liberated the whole of the Balkan peninsula then *tota Croatia* could fit within the area which, in his earlier years, he had termed Illyricum. The preceding discussions of Croatian ethnicity and statehood contain much material derived from the *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*. The practical application of this and material taken from *Regia Illyriorum* affords an insight into how geographical spaces become filled with national content.

Ancient *Illyricum* served as Vitezović's first point of reference in the the *Regia Illyriorum* The limits of Croatia were those of *Illyricum stricte sumptum*, the 'tightly drawn' Illyricum of the Roman historian Suetonius which had lain between Italy and the Kingdom of Noricum in the west, Thrace and Macedonia in the east, the Danube in the north and in the south, the Adriatic sea. To avoid all ambiguity in his claims, he listed those areas which he was excluding from this *Illyricum stricte sumptum*; Noricum, Rhaetia, Vindelicia, Dacia, Mysia inferior, Macedonia, Greece, Thrace and Crete with the intervening islands.[21] This *Illyricum* in effect embraced the areas included within the Emperor's royal title. What practical purpose did this definition serve? In the first place it linked modern Croatia with the glories of ancient *Illyricum* and the Croats' golden age. It also placed the origins of the Kingdom of Croatia far back in the mists of antiquity. The Illyrians had had a kingdom in the region long before the Romans arrived and the Kingdom of Croatia, he implied, was a continuation of this ancient kingdom. On this basis, territory which had been part of *Illyricum* by right belonged to Croatia.

In the very title of the memorandum to the Emperor, the kingdom of the Illyrians is equated with *Croatia rediviva*. The resurrection of Croatia was to be understood as tantamount to the restoration of the old Illyricum. A further advantage of Illyricum was its very ambiguity, despite the apparently decisive definition based upon Suetonius which Vitezović had given. In the 1680s, he had applied the term to the greater part of the Balkan peninsula. It was therefore a term nicely in accord

with the Emperor's ambitions in the south-east. Why did Vitezović insist upon *tota Croatia* and not the more elastic *totum Illyricum*? It was suggested in Chapter Four that Vitezović substituted the Croatian name for the Illyrian name because he preferred a name attached to a solid political entity. Although the author of the commendation of *Bosna Captiva* had hoped for the restoration of *totum Illyricum*, such a term was insufficiently political for Vitezović. *Tota Croatia* as part of the title of the Croatian mediaeval monarchs was part of the phraseology of Croatian statehood. By using this term, Vitezović made it clear that the enlarged state which he was proposing was an extension of the Croatian state, the area subject to the Croatian king, ban and sabor.

Tota Croatia had its origins in the second heyday of the Croats, during the Middle Ages when the Kingdom of Croatia had been at its zenith. The arguments which Vitezović used in the *Regia Illyriorum* to set out the limits of this mediaeval kingdom are more clearly expressed in the *Banalogia* where he discussed the limits of the ban's jurisdiction.[22] The mediaeval Kingdom of Croatia had rested within the limits of Illyricum. Drawing upon the account of Thomas the Archdeacon, he explained that the Kingdom had been ruled by one king and one ban who had been recognized as the rulers of *tota Croatia*. In 756 A.D. this Kingdom, he continued, was divided in *Croatia Alba* (White Croatia) and *Croatia Rubea* (Red Croatia) at the Synod held at Split during the coronation of the Croatian King Budimir otherwise known as Svetopillus.[23] *Croatia Rubea* contained all those Croats who adhered to the Church at

Constantinople and stretched from the site of the Synod as far south as Dyrrachium (Dürres). Those Croats who had followed Budimir and been received 'into the lap of the Holy Mother', the Church at Rome, were included within *Croatia Alba* which extended from the site of the Synod to the west to include Carinthia and to the north as far as the river Danube.[24] After the division, the title of the Kingdom of Croatia continued to be applied to *Croatia Alba* since it remained under the rule of the king of Croatia who was in direct line with the kings of the pre-division kingdom, *tota Croatia*. According to Vitezović's reasoning, the Emperor Leopold as King of Croatia was also, through the kings of *Croatia Alba*, in line of unbroken succession with the kings of the pre-division kingdom. This entitled the Emperor to include *tota Croatia* among his royal and imperial titles and to make the territorial claims implicit in the term.

After these thumbnail sketches which established the historic roots of an enlarged Kingdom of Croatia, Vitezović still had to establish the details of the boundaries. Typical of his method are the accounts he gave of the southern and eastern boundaries of Croatia. As well as being representative, these accounts are of additional interest since they include the controversial regions of Bosnia and Dalmatia.

Tota Croatia; Eastern boundaries

The discussion of the eastern boundaries in the *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam* begins with one of Vitezović's characteristic observations that the '*Orientali termini* of Croatia are far more extensive than those

described by more recent geographers'.[25] To the east of the existing Croatian banate lay Bosnia and Serbia. Both regions were integral parts of Vitezović's *tota Croatia* and were listed separately in the customary royal title, Bosnia appearing as Rama. In the *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, Vitezović explained that the Bosnians and Serbs were part of the Croatian nation providing diverse evidence of the Serbs being known in the past as Croats.[26] The main thrust of Vitezović's claim on behalf of the Kingdom of Croatia to Bosnia is based, not upon ethnicity, but upon nullifying the claims of the Bosnians to independent statehood. Both Bosnia and Serbia had been part of the old pre-division Kingdom of Croatia. When the kingdom was divided, following lines of allegiance to the Western or the Eastern Church, Serbia became part of Croatia Rubea, whereas Bosnia became part of *Croatia Alba*. This was an emphatic contradiction of the argument which Vitezović had found in Ivan Lučić that Bosnia had belonged to *Croatia Rubea*.[27] Vitezović proceeded to argue that the Bosnian kings had never been monarchs independent of Croatia. Their title, in his account, had evolved from the office of ban and therefore the Bosnian kings had remained subordinate to the Croatian and Hungarian kings just as in the days when they had been known simply as bans. This subordinate position had been recognized by the outside world and explained the reluctance of one of the popes to send a crown to the Bosnian king for fear of upsetting the king of Hungary.[28] In short, the Kingdom of Croatia had a legal right to claim Bosnia upon its deliverance from the Ottoman Turks.

Further to the east, he left the limits of *Croatia Rubea* deliberately

vague. Although the eastern boundaries of *Illyricum stricte sumptum* were set at Thrace and Macedonia, in the *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam* he quoted a variety of authors, including the lexicographer Giacomo Micaglia, who could be used to claim that Macedonia, Bulgaria, Albania, Epirus and parts of Thessaly were all Croatian territories.[29] At this stage, Vitezović had few legal arguments to support his case. With respect to Macedonia, he observed that two towns celebrated by Pliny in his histories with the unmistakeably Slav names of Bjelobardo and Bjelazora testified to the greatness of the Croatian tongue and power in antiquity.[30] Later in the same paragraph he referred to the great empire of the Nemanjići who had 'held subject Macedonia, Epirus, Graecia, Romania and Bulgaria'. With the title *tota Croatia*, Vitezović encouraged the Emperor as the heir of the kings of *Croatia Alba* and through them of the kings of the predivision Kingdom, to think in terms of a mighty Balkan Kingdom of Croatia.

Tota Croatia; Southern boundaries

To set the southern boundaries of Croatia, Vitezović developed the argument that the 'name of Liburnia passed over into that of Croatia'. Liburnia had been the Roman name for the coastal region lying between Istria and Dalmatia. Vitezović claimed that Liburnia, like Pannonia and Dalmatia, had become redundant terms after the end of Roman rule and had been superseded by the Croatian name.[31] The southern boundary of Croatia should include the islands of the Adriatic since 'just as the name of Liburnia passed truly into the name of Croatia, so it is plain that the Liburnian islands with the sea itself passed into the power of the

Croats with the exception of Sceria which the Greeks seized and thereafter called Corcyra (Korčula)'.[32] Thus, on the basis of the old classical name, Vitezović included within the 'true' boundaries of Croatia most of the Adriatic islands under Venetian rule.

The second manner of proof employed by Vitezović demonstrated that these islands had been politically integrated with the Kingdom of Croatia. That King Krešimir had had jurisdiction over the Adriatic islands was clear from the privilege which Ivan Lučić, no less, had quoted.[33] Still in the time of the Hungarian monarchy, all the islands of the Liburnian sea belonged to the Kingdom of Croatia. Referring to the sale of certain islands to the Venetians in the early fifteenth century, he pointed out that it was Ladislav the King of Hungary and Naples who had conducted the sale.[34] Even the Venetians had recognized the Croatian authority over the Adriatic since they had sent tribute to the Croats for the sake of conducting their trade along the Dalmatian coast in peace.[35]

To dispose of the Venetians' claims to parts of mainland Croatia, Vitezović resumed his polemic with the works of Ivan Lučić. It was one of Lučić's 'pure conjectures' that he assigned certain towns, namely Zadar, Trogir and Split 'to Dalmatia, as if to an alien region or another (*gens*) nation'.[36] He began by explaining the redundancy of the Dalmatian name:

> So, after the Romans had been wiped out and the name of the province of Dalmatia gradually faded away, neither the sea should be called Dalmatian, nor the islands Dalmatian and still less should the cities situated on the Croatian mainland be called Dalmatian.[37]

Vitezović again furnished proof of political integration. After all his

research in the cities' archives, Lučić, he observed, should have been aware that it had been the Croatian and the Hungarian kings who had issued the various privileges.[39] What is more, 'the Dalmatian cities of our Lučić' had been obedient to the Croatian kings and bans and had always elected their *Comites* and *Protectores* from the Croatian nobility. Here was proof that Dalmatia had never had a separate existence but been part of the Kingdom of Croatia and that Lučić, and therefore the Venetians, were mistaken in understanding Dalmatia to be 'another region'.[39] In the *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam* Vitezović pursued the point about 'another nation'. Writing of those 'separated from the Croatian royal jurisdiction by the Venetian ducal jurisdiction, he observed that they rarely called themselves Dalmatian but Slavs or Croats and referred to their vernacular as Slav, Slavonic and Croatian.[40]

Having made these claims about the obsolescence of the name Dalmatia, Vitezović had to circumvent the inconvenient counter-evidence that Dalmatia featured in the titles of the Croatian kings. Confronted with the inscription on King Krešimir's signet ring, *Ego Chresimir Rex Chroatorum et Dalmatinorum*, Vitezović declared that the offending term Dalmatian referred to the remaining 'Romans' along the coast, meaning those who recognized the authority of the Church at Rome rather than at Constantinople. The use of Dalmatia in the royal title was, he concluded in *Regia Illyriorum*, a mere affectation for the sake of prestige.[41] The advantage which the continued use by the Emperor of the old-style title gave to the Venetians could easily be nullified by the adoption of

the altogether more accurate title *tota Croatia*.[42] This would impress upon the Venetians that the territory known as 'Dalmatia' was an integral part of the Kingdom of Croatia and not a separate kingdom in the manner of Germany, Hungary and Bohemia which were listed separately in the royal and imperial title.

* * *

Croatia rediviva was to be *tota Croatia*, a mighty Kingdom resurrected upon the ruins of the Ottomans' European empire, stretching across the Balkans coextensive with the limits of Habsburg imperial ambition. The political programme which Vitezović laid before the Emperor at the beginning of the eighteenth century was a spirited assertion of Croatian state tradition. The words with which the members of the Croatian sabor accepted the Pragmatic Sanction in 1712 echoed those with which, nearly two centuries earlier, they had stated their position when first inviting a Habsburg to become king of Croatia, 'according to law we are a land affiliated with Hungary and not in any way a subject people of Hungary'.[43] At the turn of of the eighteenth century, the Croatian political nation still stood confident of its distinct political identity and confirmed in its loyalty to the House of Habsburg. Vitezović appeared in the van of Croatian political theory.

The very grandeur of Vitezović's vision evokes surprise. Such expansionist ambition is unexpected among the Croats, a nation whose history has cast them rather as the victims of others' like ambitions.

While the careful exposition of legal claims to *tota Croatia* shows the politics of state-right at work, the origins of *tota Croatia* itself lie in the earlier intellectual traditions of Illyria and South Slav unity. The *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam* ends with the division of Croatia into *Croatia Septentrionalis* (north) and *Croatia Meridionalis* (south), with the latter divided into *Croatia Alba* and *Croatia Rubea*. This *Croatia Meridionalis* and the *tota Croatia* of the *Regia Illyriorum* with its boundaries sometimes clearly defined and at others deliberately vague are little removed from the South Slav *Illyricum* of the *Anagrammaton II.*[44] *Tota Croatia* was the result of the appropriation of the earlier instinct for South Slav cultural and ethnic unity by the more vital Croatian state tradition. At the turn of the eighteenth century, Vitezović became the first Croatian scholar to endeavour to include the South Slavs within the tradition of Croatian state-right.

This discussion of national boundaries ends the present survey of themes within the works of Pavao Ritter Vitezović. There is a tremendous optimism about his programme for *tota Croatia*, the programme which once realized, would above all else have represented *Croatia rediviva*. The preceeding four chapters have charted a spiritual progression from darkness into light, from the shadow of death to resurrection, from *Croatia plorans* to *Croatia rediviva*. The Croats' future lay in the recreation of their kingdom and the re-affirmation of their statehood embodied in their political institutions. This 'resurrection of Croatia' would only be possible through the co-operation of the Emperor with his

Croatian subjects. Vitezović hoped that the Emperor would take seriously his role as King of Croatia and use this to establish his claims in the face of European rivals. His work was an eloquent plea for the Emperor to recognize Croatia as a Kingdom and to act as King of Croatia.

Both Vitezović's confidence and his optimism were misplaced. Expectations of an early Turkish retreat from the Balkans soon met disappointment. For the first half of the eighteenth century, the Habsburg Emperors were embroiled in a series of dynastic crises. Once the Turkish retreat gathered momentum, the Habsburg *Drang nach Osten* had to contend with the ambitions of the other great powers and also with the determination of the individual Balkan nations to seek their own futures.

Scholarship, philosophies and literary styles were no less subject to change than political fortunes, and with the various developments in intellectual life, national identities also changed. Vitezović died, a ruined man, in the back room of an inn at Vienna. In the nineteenth century he was elevated to a lasting place in the Croatian national pantheon. His posthumous career has far exceeded that of his life-time in the strength and breadth of its influence. The final chapter, as well as attempting general conclusions, must look briefly at this final stage of Vitezović's career as an identity constructor. By tracing the survival and transformation of themes from his work it examines continuity and change within national identities.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Change and continuity

Nulli etenim bona magna manent diuturna cuique,

Imponunt sub sole rei sua tempora finem

The great and the good remain forever for no man,

Time sets the limit for everything under the sun.[1]

It now remains to draw together the threads of this study of how national identities are constructed. In the early modern period, the sense of nationhood, of belonging to a national community quickened among the élites of Europe. The members of the political nation, the clergy, scholars and writers sought out, itemized and quantified what distinguished their nation. What was lacking, they invented, what deficient, they supplemented and adapted. In so doing they shaped their own national identities and confirmed themselves in their sense of solidarity.

The type of earnest self-definition which has been observed among the Croats during this period was also being enacted by the monied Dutch accustoming themselves to their freedom from foreign rule and by the Scots finding themselves politically hamstrung. Nor was this pursuit of the national the resort of the small and precarious. Under the Tudors, the English had embarked upon a glorious and apparently self-confident definition of English identity, the French and the Spanish no less so under their respective dynasties. The impetus to define and

create a national identity did not lie in any one set of political circumstances in the early modern period: it could be bred both by crisis and by confidence.

Two points emerge clearly from the survey of identity construction among the Croats. The first is that there is a relationship between the political predicament of the nation and the elements which are emphasized within the nation's identity. The Croatian élites' urge to define their national identity was part of their complex response to the political precariousness of their kingdom. For two hundred years, the Croats had faced the chilling prospect that the Kingdom of Croatia would be engulfed by the Ottoman Empire. After 1526, they had had also to establish their legal position within the Habsburg Empire. The Croats accordingly constructed an identity which fostered their sense of national solidarity in the face of these specific threats to their state. The identity was idealized but its contents were such that the Croats could identify themselves within it. The Croatian élite depicted themselves as a martial nation, the staunch champions of Christianity and Christendom. They traced the history of the Kingdom of Croatia and their unbroken line of kings. They sought guarantees of their rights and privileges and of the state institutions. Such elements of identity can readily be linked to the circumstances of the long crusade against the expanding Ottoman Empire and Habsburg centralism. But other elements were also involved, although less obviously so. The Croats' belief in their numerous Slav brethren and their vast geographical expanse was no less a compensation for the diminution of their Kingdom than their insistence upon Croatian state-

right and the former powers and prestige of their kings and bans. Patterns of reasoning and self-images which have persisted among the Croats have their origins in the response of the early modern Croats to their political predicament. What one scholar has described as the Croats' 'chronic atavism and tendency to live in the past' was bred of the necessity to find the legal precedents with which to assure their rights under the Habsburg monarchy.[2]

The second point is that the type of identity construction observed among the Croats at this time was the product of the prevailing style of scholarship. It was within the supranational framework of humanist learning that the impetus as well as the mechanics and methods of defining national identities spread between the European élites. While the material from which a national identity was built was peculiar to, or perceived as peculiar to the individual nation, the type of material was common to many nations, reflecting a shared conception of how nations were identified. Thus, an interest in their language, ancestors, their pagan and Christian past was characteristic of the nations then constructing their identities. The search for ancient ancestors for the nation, representing as it did the desire to connect the classical past with the present, was typical of humanist scholarship. At the same time, the teachings of the neo-stoics were influential in formulating relations between nations and their rulers. The early modern scholars and writers borrowed from the classical authors not only for their material but also for their literary models. The Reformation and the Counter-Reformation likewise influenced the processes of identity construction. The threats to

the nation were perceived as part of the price to be paid for moral depravity. National renewal was to follow the familiar cycle of repentance, reform and resurrection. The importance of these intellectual catalysts for identity construction becomes clear when the development of the stateless nations under Ottoman rule is considered: the Bulgarians, Albanians and Macedonians who were all but untouched by European intellectual movements at this period were far less advanced in the processes of identity construction than those nations, such as the Greeks and Serbs, which enjoyed at least partial contact with mainstream European intellectual life.

Identity construction is a continuous process. Successive generations recreate their identities according to their changing political predicaments and to satisfy changing intellectual criteria and moral values. Can national identities be said truly to persist if they are subject to near continuous change in their composition?

Here the historian of the nation is confronted with the philosopher's problem of change, continuity and re-identification. If the only way to understand a name is by its identifying particulars, what happens when the identifying particulars, like the attributes of Descartes' lump of wax, all change? The answer with respect to nations is surely that the nation usually disappears along with its identity and name. The Bible, or any other ancient work of literature, abounds with names of nations which are now without reference, which are, in other words, extinct. The modern

world abounds with nations which cannot be identified with any nation in ancient literature. Although bloody, the history of mankind has not been punctuated with genocide in such a way as to account for the present irrelevance of so many national names. Nor is the spontaneous generation of fully-formed nations a recognized event. Deliberate attempts by nations to break with past identities and to forge new ones are as notoriously clumsy and ineffective as the brutal efforts of one nation to suppress the identity of another. Nations gradually evolve and most often gradually disappear, usually through the voluntary and scarcely perceptible abandonment of their identities and finally their national names.

Whether anyone still identifies with a particular national name might seem a useful criterion for establishing whether a nation is extinct. What might be the criterion for deciding whether a nation with a changing identity really continues to exist? One answer seems to be for the historian of the nation to follow the philosopher and to insist upon the temporal and spatial continuity of a basic framework within which the individual elements change: as long as there are individuals who continue to claim membership of a nation that nation may be said to exist even if the identity of the modern individuals is radically different from that of their forefathers who identified with same national name. One characteristic of national identities is their elasticity. In theory, a complete change of all the identifying particulars could be incorporated into the history of a single continuous nation if the nation so desired. A word of caution, though, is needed here since it is the practice of nations to suppose themselves far older than they actually are.

To recognize this capacity for adaption and absorption does not necessitate agreeing with the claim of the early modern Croats that they and the ancient Illyrians were one nation since they supposed their history continuous with that of the Illyrians. Rather the history of a nation extends from the period when individuals begin to suppose themselves the members of that nation to the time when they may cease to do so. Those who think of themselves simply as American or Australian are American or Australian and the members of relatively new nations even though their forefathers might have thought of themselves as English or Croatian. The reason why national identities are so elastic is that they are after all only man-made fictions. They can be expanded and remade *ad infinitum*. Only when no-one believes in nations any more will they, like J.M. Barrie's fairies, cease to exist.

A nation does not typically continue creating and recreating its identity at the same rate. There are peak periods of activity coinciding with periods of dramatic change. In between these peak periods of activity are plateaux coinciding with times of little change when a nation feels little need to re-work its identity. The Croats entered such a plateau in the half century after the death of Vitezović. The first half of the eighteenth century is often characterized in Croatian history as a period of dormancy and acquiescence which ended with the arrival of the new style of scholarship engendered by the romantic movement. In the 1960s, one Croatian historian wrote that 'Vitezović appeared and disappeared like a meteor in a dark sky' after which the Croats were left in an ignorance conjured forth by those bogeys of the liberal tradition, the Jesuits.[3]

Myths however, and this is but another myth within the Croatian national canon, are not without some essence of at least poetic truth. The world of Croatian scholarship and letters in the eighteenth century failed to produce luminaries after the model of Vitezović and Križanić, but there was a similar dearth among the other European nations: humanist polymaths of this kind disappeared from European scholarship.

After the end of the Vienna War in 1699, the nobility of the Kingdom of Croatia enjoyed a period of relative prosperity and stability and accordingly invested in the most visible and least portable of the arts: the nobles built gracious palaces within the defensive walls of the Upper Town at Zagreb; the bishop of Zagreb likewise commissioned a palace in the same style as appropriate to a lord spiritual who for much of the century exercised the *auctoritas banalis* in the absence of the ban; the interiors and exteriors of churches and monasteries erupted in vibrant outgrowths of baroque decoration. Although individual nations developed a style of baroque peculiar to their own character, and the Croats were no exception in this, one must look very closely to find any overt expression of national identity within Croatian visual art of the period. Mixed with the paintings and sculptures of SS. Xavier, Loyola and Aloysius and the other great spiritual athletes of the Counter-Reformation is the occasional native saint.

One measure of the Croats' interests at this time is afforded by the titles of books published at Zagreb after Vitezović's death.[4] Of the sixty-five works published between 1713 and 1750, two thirds were

devotional. Of the remainder, seven were works on the subject of Croatian grammar and orthography and were probably, like the two works on Latin grammar and the three on mathematics, printed for use in the grammar school at Zagreb. There are six history books, one of which concerns Hungarian history while the others are general and include the 1744 reprint of Vitezović's *Kronika*.[5] There are in addition a few miscellaneous items on geography, good manners, and military matters. Precisely sixty percent of the titles are Latin and forty in the Croatian vernacular. The conclusion must be that Vitezović did not have any succesors publishing at Zagreb who added to the sum of literature on Croatian themes. This trend holds true when a sample of library inventories, including those of monasteries disbanded in the 1770s, is taken into consideration.[6] Most works listed are religious and devotional in matter and there is nothing to suggest that scholars were publishing anything new on Croatian subjects outside Zagreb.

One explanation for the absence of immediate successors to Vitezović is that the Croats were seized by the scientific rationalism already apparent in the work Ivan Lučić. There is, though, no evidence for the Croats at this time attempting to build upon the work of Lučić and providing themselves with a new rational national identity. Rather it seems that they did not feel any need to add to the body of existing scholarship on Croatian matters and were still content with the identity moulded in the preceeding two centuries. The library inventories show that they still had available abundant such material from this period. The inventories cannot of course show whether these earlier books were re-read and details of re-

prints are better proof of sustained interest. Among the titles listed there are a large number of works on Hungarian history and a lesser number on Polish and Czech history. Notable authors on Slav themes represented include Bohuslav Balbin, Martin Kromer and Antonio Bonfini. Of the Croatian historians, there are many copies of the histories of Juraj Rattkay who is far better represented than Ivan Lučić. Vitezović's *Kronika*, his revised version of the sixteenth-century chronicle of Antun Vramec, was apparently still in demand with many copies of its re-prints appearing in library inventories.

It had been the northern Croats who had brought Illyrian mythology to its humanist and baroque apogee. The next stage in the development of Croat-Illyrian identity took place once again outside the Kingdom of Croatia, on the Dalmatian coast where the Illyrian theory had first taken hold. Already, in the 1730s, Filip Grabovac, a Franciscan friar from Dalmatia had published a collection of verses in the Croatian vernacular and in a folk style. In 1756, Andrija Kačić-Miošić (1704-1760), another Dalmatian Franciscan, published at Venice a volume of vernacular verses, *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga* (hereafter, *Razgovor ugodni*) which he followed in 1760 with the *Korabljica*.[7] Kačić-Miošić's work was innovatory. *Razgovor ugodni* was written in a mixture of prose and decasyllabic verse, the verse form of the South Slav oral epic. Most of the verse was Kačić-Miošić's own invention in the traditional style but he included a few authentic folk songs which he claimed to have collected on his travels along the Dalmatian coast. He celebrated the exploits of the heroes of the thousand border skirmishes which punctuated life along the

ill-defined fringes of the Ottoman empire. These heroes were closer to Kraljević Marko, the wily hero of Serbian folk epic, than to the noble *patres patriae* of Vitezović's classically inspired eulogies and elegies. Detectable in the work of Kačić-Miošić are the early signs of a broadening of the concept of the nation and of the cherishable national culture.

Kačić-Miošić also drew upon the great canon of Illyrian-Slav mythology, recounting many elements which had been rejected by the later humanist scholars. His seemingly uncritical use of mythology without concern for internal consistency is seen less as a sign of a decline in critical scholarship than as a foreshadowing of romanticism. In his espousal of the aesthetic over the rational, Kačić-Miošić seems to stand in the van of the European romantic movement.*

There was much in Kačić-Miošić's writings which was familiar to the Croatian readership accustomed to the literature of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries. *Razgovor ugodni* was a vernacular chronicle, a genre which still retained its appeal among Croatian readers. Kačić-Miošić's sources for history were the works of the fifteenth-century Italian humanist Antonio Bonfini and Vitezović's *Kronika*. Unlike Ivan Lučić, he did not require his Croatian readers to revise their understanding of who they were. Romanticism when it took hold among the Croats was less a reaction to rationalism than is supposed to be the case among the Germans, French and English. Kačić-Miošić's work found favour with a readership already attuned to mystification. *Razgovor ugodni* with its quaint mixture of humanist erudition and traditional folk poetry rested easily on

Croatian library shelves alongside Macpherson's Ossian." Once again the old Illyrian mythology and the heroics of the campaigns against the Turks were being re-worked: the Croatian identity continued under construction, constant in its framework, changing in its elements and their arrangement.

The Turk was no longer a threat, yet the Croats clung to their image as the nation of noble warriors, defending Christendom from the infidel. The fear of Ottoman expansion had passed, yet the old sense of precariousness, of living on the brink remained. Habsburg centralizing ambitions now posed the threat to the continued existence of the Kingdom of Croatia.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Croats had shown themselves confident of their statehood: Vitezović had formulated his scheme for the future of an expanded Kingdom of Croatia within the Habsburg Empire; he had continued to work at a full exposition of the status and powers of the Croatian ban; in the sabor, the nobility followed the patterns of assertion and defence familiar from the previous two centuries. Having in 1712 once again demonstrated their independence from the Hungarian diet by their acceptance of the Pragmatic Sanction, the members of the sabor in 1715 secured by an article of the Hungarian diet a guarantee of their right to legislate independently. They continued to demand that the king uphold the *jura municipalia*, the traditional rights and privileges which distinguished the Kingdom of Croatia from that of Hungary. Nothing within the political structure

changed formally during this period. The ban and sabor continued to submit their decisions for sanction by the Emperor as their king and remained as the real internal administrators of the Kingdom.

There was, though, a change of mood among the nobility of the Kingdom. The magnates of the Kingdom identified less with the interests of the whole nobility of Croatia than with those of the magnates in the upper house of the Hungarian diet. The concept of noble privilege became divorced in the minds of the higher nobility from that of Croatian statehood. During the second half of the century, Vienna imposed a series of constitutional changes upon the Croats. The lands of the Military Frontier were already under the direct administration of the imperial military authorities. In the 1760s and 1770s, the first changes were made to the authority of the Croatian ban and sabor within the Kingdom of Croatia. Certain political, economic and military matters were placed under the administration of the newly created *Concilium Regium* for Croatia. Then, in 1779, the *Concilium* was abolished and its business transferred to the Hungarian Court Chancery. For the first time, the Kingdom of Croatia was administered as part of the Kingdom of Hungary. Emperor Joseph II attempted further reforms which undermined the autonomy of the individual kingdoms within the empire. In the face of Habsburg centralism, the nobility of the Kingdom of Croatia made common cause with the Hungarian nobility in an attempt to preserve their remaining privileges. In 1790, the sabor surrendered to the Hungarian diet many of its remaining administrative powers, a move which is taken as the nadir in the history of the nobility's defence of Croatian statehood.

The state of Vitezović's posthumous reputation at this period offers insight into the Croatian élite's resistance to Habsburg centralism. Among the clergy at Zagreb, Vitezović was remembered not as a champion of Croatian statehood, but as an agent of the Habsburgs. The evidence for this comes from the writings of Adam Baltazar Krčelić (1715-1778), the historian and canon of the Zagreb chapter.[10] Among the entries in his diary for 1764 Krčelić records that his own name had been linked by an anonymous pamphleteer to that of Adam Franz Kollár, the then *bête noire* of the Hungarian diet since he, Kollár, had argued for the rights of the Habsburgs as the holders of the crown of Saint Stephan over the Church in Hungary.[11] Krčelić had befriended and sought the patronage of several leading court advocates of centralism while he served as rector of the Croatian college at Vienna. It was through these associations that he was engaged in 1748 by the Empress Maria Theresa to compile a study of the legal rights of the Kingdoms of Croatia and Hungary with the lands of Bosnia, Dalmatia and Serbia. To assist him in his work, Krčelić was given those of Vitezović's manuscripts which were in the possession of the Hungarian Chancery. Among these papers were the manuscripts of the *Banalogia*, *Offuciae Joannis Lucii Refutae*, *Serbia Illustrata* and the *Tractatus qualiter Croatia ad ius Ungaricum devenerit*. Since Krčelić argued in support of the legal rights of the Empress within Croatia, it is not difficult to see why he might have been construed as an agent of centralism and been open to accusations of 'betraying the *patria* and the Kingdom'.[12] That Vitezović was also embraced by the pamphleteer's opprobrium showed not only that its author

was aware of Krčelić's sources but that Vitezović too was seen as an imperial lickspittle. This whole episode serves as a coda to Vitezović's trial, which had been instigated by the Zagreb Chapter.

Krčelić identified strongly with Vitezović, not only because of his subject matter, but because of his downfall engineered by the Zagreb clergy. Vitezović had been, he claimed, the victim of clerical jealousy since it had been held an impiety for the laity to write.[18] In fact Vitezović had been a victim of the local nobility and the Zagreb chapter's resentment at imperial interference. Krčelić found the path to his advancement blocked: an intellectually gifted member of the clergy with his sights set on the Zagreb episcopacy, his fellow members of the chapter thwarted his personal ambitions, accusing him, like Vitezović, of peculation combined with spiritual and moral laxity. Like Vitezović, Krčelić was suspected of being too sympathetic to the central authorities at Vienna and was punished for it.

It was no mere blind idolization that impelled Krčelić to salvage Vitezović's reputation as a lover of his fatherland. His purpose was to create a strong patriotic image with which to associate himself: Vitezović had been a true lover of his country and it was his intention to follow humbly in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor. Writing in the 1760s, he clearly believed that patriotism was a strong card to play in self-defence, just as Vitezović had done in his defence speech, half a century before. Although the élite's opposition to Vienna came increasingly to look like nothing more than the self-interested defence of

traditional privilege, Croatia and the *patria* still retained emotive force.

Once the ideas of romantic nationalism took hold among the Croats, the reputation of Pavao Ritter Vitezović was in the ascendant. He now serves alongside Nikola Šubić Zrinski as evidence of the Croatian national genius. There is a parallel in the appeal of the two heroes which reflects a persistent characteristic of the Croatian national mentality; for where has some of the lasting appeal of Vitezović lain if not in his failure? It was through the work of Krčelić that Vitezović entered Croatian national mythology in the guise of the underappreciated genius, the victim of petty jealousies. It is a familiar pattern; the impoverished death in Vienna suggests a parallel with another romantic myth of genius. Once the hero is rescued from obscurity, subsequent appreciative generations may compare themselves with their forefathers and congratulate themselves on their greater percipience. Since his entry into the Croatian national pantheon, Vitezović has over the years, like other elements of their identity, been remoulded to fit the Croats' changing self-perceptions. In Klaić's great biography, Vitezović is still the romantic hero: he does not die, rather he 'yields up his great soul', in exile, in poverty, alone.[14] The catalogue to the 1952 exhibition which commemorated the three-hundredth anniversary of his birth, sets out his downfall in terms of the class struggle; his bid for economic independence as a *građanski sin*, a son of the bourgeoisie, brought him into conflict with the interests of the *plemstvo*, the nobility, so that he had to flee his *domovina*, his homeland.[15] Even if the emphasis was predictably upon the Yugoslav aspects of his work rather than his championship of Croatian state-right,

the exhibition itself suggests a latitude in the early years of Tito's Yugoslavia which seems remarkable in the light of the later stifling of Croatian national sentiment. Vitezović has become the quintessential Croat, the perfect hero for a nation suspicious of success, always peering over its shoulder to the east for the coming barbarians.

* * *

The premise of this study can be stated two ways:

(1) nations furnish themselves with identities in a way which is deliberate;

(2) national identities are neither innate nor accidental.

The reality lies in between, in the mixture of conscious and unconscious selection and adaption of identifying particulars. The emphasis in the course of this discussion has been upon the processes of conscious selection; Pavao Ritter Vitezović has served as an example of the type of early modern scholar who set about constructing a national identity in a deliberate way, characteristic of the scholarship of his day.

Invention, creation, even imagining are terms which are commonly used to describe the process by which nations acquire their identities. These terms, which turn nations into creative artists bent on their own self-invention, suggest too free a hand. What this present study has shown are the constraints upon identity construction. The world might seem to offer an infinite variety of possible identities, but a nation can only wear an identity which fits.

A national identity must satisfy intellectual criteria. The material used by the early modern Croatian scholars was credible by their standards. When evidence more tangible than mythology was required, they could draw upon the authority of documents and inscriptions. Moral criteria must also be satisfied. The Croats' image as a nation of Christian knights, the champions of Catholicism, was created in an age when the crusade against the Turk could still be seen as a fight to save men's souls, when to be other than of the Church of Christ was to be damned. Changes in intellectual and moral criteria necessitate changes in national identity. Once the romantic movement turned its back on rationalism in favour of sentiment, the old complex of myths regained their former importance within the framework of nations' identities. A shameful episode in a nation's history may be followed by an earnest reformation of national character with old characteristics which might be viewed as having led to disgrace being expunged in favour of other morally acceptable elements from an earlier untainted period of national history; this has been the case of the post-war de-militarized Germans whose championship of the environment declares their spiritual continuity with Schiller and Beethoven.

A further constraint is that the identity must fulfill its purpose. The peak periods in the history of identity construction among the Croats have coincided with periods of their greatest precariousness. The identity which they shaped in the early modern period countered their diminished

political power, provided material for resisting Habsburg centralism and was aimed at reviving their sense of nationhood.

The ultimate constraint is what the nation already is: the nation must recognize itself in its own identity. At first glance, national identities with their many 'invented' elements may seem exaggerated beyond all semblance of reality, but these identities are less complete fabrications than idealized caricatures. This is more than a matter of relative perception: the Scots' and the Swiss' thrift appearing to other nations as congenital meanness. Where periods of intense identity construction are linked with periods of national revival, it is clear that national identities, to be effective, must inspire the confidence that comes from identification with what is great and noble and familiar. Each nation finds its own national heroes who inspire it in a way which foreign or supranational heroes, such as those of ancient Rome, cannot.

Nations create their identities within these limits. As changes occur within these constraints so national identities must be refashioned. The framework within which a nation constructs its identity remains constant. The identifying elements within the framework, the myths, customs, symbols, mentality are handed down: when this ceases to happen, the framework disappears and the nation with it.

Shortly before he died, Vitezović expressed the fear that his work would be forgotten. Much early modern scholarship is now arcane, much impenetrable, much discredited. While this is true of the substance of Vitezović's writing, it is not true of its essence: despite the great gap between the seventeenth-century and the twentieth-century mind, there is much in it which is familiar. Vitezović created a vivid portrait of the Croatian nation: the nation continues and Vitezović's work continues with it.

Szrichnoj' Dello úsako vrime

Kose poçne u Boshje ime.

Pocset vnogo ni teskoché

Neg, za svěrsit, trud se hoche.

Work which is begun in God's name

Prospers every time.

There is no difficulty in beginning many things

But there is much difficulty in their completion.

Pavao Ritter Vitezović
Priricsnik, Aliti Razliko Mudroszti Cvitje.

Abbreviations and references

Archives, libraries, periodicals

A. H.	Arhiv Hrvatske (Archives of Croatia), Zagreb
Arh. Jug. Ak.	Arhiv Jugoslavenske Akademije (Archives of the Yugoslav Academy), Zagreb
A. Z. N.	Arhiv Zagrebačke Nadbiskupije (Archives of the Zagreb Archbishopric), Zagreb
D. A. Z.	Državni Arhiv, Zagreb (Government Archves), Zagreb
Egy. Kt.	Egyetemi Könyvtár (University Library), Budapest
Metropolitana	Biblioteca Metropolitana Ecclesiae Zagrabiensis (The Library of the Bishops of Zagreb), Zagreb
N. S. B.	Narodna i Sveučilišna Biblioteka (National and University Library), Zagreb
J. A. Z. U.	Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti (Yugoslav Academy of Science and Art), Zagreb

In the case of published works, titles are given in full following the first appearance in the text and notes. Where more than one work is listed under the author's name in the Bibliography, short titles are used in all subsequent references, e.g. Klaić, *Život i Djela*. Subsequent reference is otherwise made by the author's name alone followed by op. cit., e.g. Šrepel, op. cit.

The call number of a manuscript is given only following the first reference.

[ ] Square brackets denote the translator's additions to the original text.

Page references are given for all published works with the following exceptions:

i. *Kronika, Aliti Szpomen Yszega Szvieta Vikov u dva Dela razredyen*; dates only are given since page numbers vary between editions.

ii. Dictionaries and encyclopaedias and all works where entries follow in strict alphabetical order.

iii. Vitezović's manuscripts; page references have been given only where pagination is regular.

n. p. denotes that a text is not paginated.

Notes

Chapter One

1. P.F. Strawson, *Individuals; an essay in descriptive metaphysics*, p. 20.

2. *Under nation*, the *Oxford English Dictionary* observes that 'In early examples the racial idea is usually stronger than the political; in recent use the notion of political unity and independence is more prominent'.
See also *natio* in Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*.

3. The cults, for example, of Saints Stephan and Ladislav (László) in Hungary and Saint Wenceslas (Václav) in Bohemia combined notions of statehood and national piety. The practice of conferring sainthood upon national rulers was yet more common with the Orthodox nations where the state and Church were so closely connected. The last Nemanjić rulers of Serbia are still revered as saints by the Serbian Orthodox Church.

4. The French saw their forefathers in Julius Caesar's Gauls as did the Dutch in the Batavians and the Germans in the tribesmen of Tacitus' *Germania*.

5. Klaić's *Život i Djela Paula Rittera Vitezovića* (hereafter, *Život i Djela*) is the only complete biography of Vitezović in existence. For other shorter biographical accounts:

in Croatian: Tomislav Heres, 'Slučaj Pavla Rittera Vitezovića', *Marulić*, year 21, no. 2, pp. 196-203; Ferdo Sišić, 'Hrvatska historiografija od XVI do XX stoljeća', *Jugoslavenski Istoriski Časopis*, (hereafter, 'Hrvatska historiografija'), vol. 1, pp. 36-51; Zvane Črnja, *Kulturna Historija Hrvatske*, pp. 342-353 *et passim*; Josip Vončina, *Izabrana djela: Zrinski, Frankopan, Vitezović*, pp. 337-351; *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, vol. 8.

in English: Ivo Banac, 'The Redivived Croatia of Pavao Ritter Vitezović', in Banac and Sysyn eds, *Concepts of Nationhood in Early Modern Europe*, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, vol. 10 (hereafter, Banac and Sysyn), pp. 492-507.

in German: Fr. Snopek, 'Pavao Ritter Vitezović; Beiträge zu seiner biographie', *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, vol. 28, pp. 593-600; Constantin Wurzbach, under Ritter, *Biographisches Lexicon des Kaisertums Osterreich*, vol. 26, pp. 189-192.

in Hungarian: Jenő Berlász, 'Pavao Ritter-Vitezović az illirizmus szülőatyja', *Századok*, pp. 943-1002.

6. The leading role of Ljudevit Gaj in the Illyrianist Movement with some reference to Vitezović's influence upon him: Elinor Murray Despalatović, *Ljudevit Gaj and the Illyrian Movement*. In 1848, A.T. Brlić recorded in his diary Gaj's portentous remark , 'Vitezović's mission is over, now Ljudevit's remains': quoted by Jaroslav Šidak, 'Počeci političke misli u Hrvata', *Naše Teme*, vol. 16, p. 1127.

Radoslav Lopašić writing in 1897, said of Gaj that 'He nevertheless is

not original but essentially supports himself, as it were, upon the work and efforts of Pavao Vitezović who almost a hundred and fifty years before Gaj had been working strenuously with enthusiasm and zeal in the same direction in order to enlighten and draw together Croatia': Lopašić, *Grada za povjest književnosti hrvatske* (hereafter, *Grada za povjest*), vol. i, p. 39.

7. A full account of the strands of national ideology among the Croats and the other South Slavs during the nineteenth century is given by Ivo Banac, Antecedants and antipodes', Part One, *The National Question in Yugoslavia*, pp. 21-141. For an interpretation of Vitezović's role in formulating theories of Croatian state-right: Milan Marjanović, 'Praotac pankroatizma; Pavao Ritter Vitezović 1652-1713', *Javnost*, nos 29-30, pp. 760-763.

8. The problem of the individual and society is discussed by Philip Abrams, 'The historical sociology of individuals: identity and the problem of generations', Chapter Eight, *Historical Sociology*, pp. 227-240.

9. Further references to the non-Croatian origins of many noble families are made in Chapter Two, p. 58, Chapter Six, p. 146.

For changes in the composition of the population with particular reference to the Orthodox migrants known as Vlahs: Jaroslav Šidak, 'Hrvatsko društvo u Križanićevo doba', Babić et alt., eds, *Život i Djelo Jurja Križanića* (hereafter, Babić), pp. 16-23.

10. Quoted by Andreas Angyal, *Die Slawische Barockwelt*, p. 233. Hungarian and Croatian historians have searched in emulation the writings of the Zrinski brothers for definitive statements of nationality. Compare Petar Zrinski's apparently unambiguous statement, made in Latin, 'I know myself to be a Croat and a Zrinski', quoted by Črnja, op. cit., p. 313.

For the extent of the Zrinski family land holdings: Josip Adamček, 'Zrinsko-frankopanski posjeci u XVII stoljeću', *Radovi Instituta za hrvatsku povijest*, vol. 2, pp. 23-45.

For Nikola and Petar Zrinski, see pp. 36, 68, 74, 130 above.

The *Magnati* are the subject of Črnja, Chapter Fourteen, op. cit., pp. 300-319.

11. Ivan Lučić, otherwise *Joannis Lucius*, born Trogir 1604, studied at Rome and Padua, died Rome 1679, author of *De Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae* and *Delle Memorie di Tragurio ora dello Trau* Franjo Rački, 'Povjestnik Ivan Lučić Trogaranina', *Rad J. A. Z. U.* vol. 49; Miroslav Kurelac, preface to *Lucius/Lučić o kraljevstvu Dalmacije i Hrvatske*, Latin-Croatian parallel text of Lučić's *De Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*, also *Ivan Lucius-Lučić De Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae 1666-1966*; Šišić, 'Hrvatska historiografija', vol. 1, p. 29; also Šišić, *Priručnik Izvora Hrvatske Historije*, pp. 51-60.

Juraj Križanić (1618-1683) and Vitezović are frequently credited with being the founders of political thought among the Croats: Črnja,

op. cit., pp. 336-342; Ivan Babić et alt., eds, *Život i Djelo Jurja Križanića*; Josip Badalić, 'Juraj Križanić; Pjesnik ilirije', *Radovi Slavenskog Instituta*, vol. 2, pp. 5-23; Ivan Golub, 'The Slavic idea of Juraj Križanić', Banac and Sysyn, op. cit., pp. 438-491; also Golub 'Slavenstvo Jurja Križanića', *Radovi o Životu i Djelu Jurja Križanića*, vol. 3, pp. 39-52.

Juraj Rattkay (1612-1666), a canon of the Zagreb Chapter and a friend of Križanić, author *Memoria Regum et Banorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Sclavoniae.*

12. Vitezović as the first professional writer in Croatia: Banac, 'The redivived Croatia of Pavao Ritter Vitezović', Banac and Sysyn, op. cit., p. 494.; Branislav Đurdjev et alt., eds, *Historija Naroda Jugoslavije*, vol. 2, p. 1012.

13. During the sixteenth century, the Counter-Reformation did claim some victims among the Croatian clergy: the career of the apostate Marc'Antonio de Dominis (1560?-1624) included a period as Archbishop of Split and as Dean at Windsor and ended with condemnation by the Roman Inquisition, see C. W. Bracewell, 'Marc'Antonio de Dominis; the making of a reformer', *Slovene Studies*, vol. 6, pp. 165-175; Antun Vranec, the historian, theologian and parish priest at Saint Mark's in the Upper Town, Zagreb, was critical of the Pope and was stripped of his benefices after the Council of Trent, see Marianna D. Birnbaum, *Humanists in a Shattered World;*

Croatian and Hungarian Latinity in the Sixteenth Century, p. 166; Protestantism among the Croats, see Črnja, 'Protestanske Perspektive', Chapter Thirteen, op. cit., pp. 287-299.

14. The Jesuits in Croatia: Miroslav Vanino, *Isusovci i Hrvatski Narod*, vols 1-2, with English abstract, vol. 1, pp. 509-521, vol. 2, pp. 693-715.

The Paulines (the hermits of Saint Paul of Thebes) in Croatia: Đurdica Cvitanović et alt., eds, *Kultura Pavlina u Hrvatskoj 1244-1756*, the catalogue for the 1989 exhibition at Zagreb, published with English and German abstracts.

The Croatian college at Vienna: Ilija Lukanović, 'Hrvatski Zavod u Beču 1627-1783', *Zbornik Zavod za Povijesne Znanosti Istraživačkog Centra J.A.Z.U.*, vol. 30, pp. 131-136.

15. Constantine Porphyrogenitus (A.D. 905-959), Emperor Constantine VII, *De administrando Imperio*, Chapter Thirty.

16. 'Trpimirova i Panonska hrvatska - Kocelova Država oko god. 870', map no. 6 and 'Hrvatska za kralja Tomislava oko god. 928', map no. 7 in Stjepan Srkulj, *Hrvatska Povijest u Devetnaest Karata*, p. 22 and p. 29 respectively.

17. The spread of Venetian rule along the eastern Adriatic coast: entry under *Dalmacija*, *Enciklopedija Jugoslavija*, vol 3, p. 643; Đurdjev, op. cit., p. 1211 ff.

18. These figures for the area of the Kingdom of Croatia are taken from Srkulj, op.cit., p.50 and p.56.

19. The first steps towards the creation of the Military Frontier (*Vojna Krajina, Militärgrenze*) had been taken prior to Habsburg rule with the creation of the Senj captaincy in 1469. Louis II Jagiello, finding himself unable to resist the Turks with his own forces, reached an agreement in 1522 with the future Emperor Ferdinand I, then Austrian archduke, whereby Austrian soldiers were to be stationed at Senj and at strategic sites along the Croatian border with the Ottoman Empire. Thus Habsburg troops were deployed in Croatia before the election of Ferdinand as king of Croatia.

The Military Frontier came under the direct authority of the War Council. The Croatian section of the Frontier was controlled by the Inner Austrian War Council based at Graz in Styria.

The history of the Military Frontier: Gunter Rothenberg, *The Austrian Military Border in Croatia 1522-1747*; Dragutin Pavličević ed., *Vojna Krajina* (hereafter, Pavličević); see entry under *Vojna Krajina*, *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, vol. 8, pp.522-528.

20. Martinac of Grobno: quoted by Josip Bratulić, 'Circonstances historiques et culturelles de la parution du premier livre Croate imprimé en caractères glagolitiques', in Henrik Heger and Janine Matillon eds, *Les Croates et la Civilisation du Livre* (hereafter, Heger and Matillon), p.22.

21. Marko Marulić, author *Istoria sveta udovice Judit u versih hrvatski složena* (Venice, 1521). The *Institutione Bene vivendi per Exempla sanctorum* (Venice, 1507) ran to many editions and was translated into Italian, German, Portugese, French, Czech and Spanish. The history of this work and Marulić's other Latin writings is discussed by Leo Košuta, 'Fortune et infortunes d'un livre de Marko Marulić; le *De Institutione Bene Vivendi per Exempla Sanctorum*', in Heger and Matillon, op.cit., pp.55-66.

Ivan Gundulić, the most celebrated of the seventeenth-century playwrights and poets from Dubrovnik: Črnja, op.cit., pp.328-332.

22. The three major Croatian dialects are čakavski (Adriatic coast and islands), kajkavski (Slavonia, Zagreb and Varaždin regions) and the ijekavski variant of štokavski (central Croatia and with kajkavski in eastern Slavonia): Despalatović, op.cit., pp.17-19.

There is a map showing the modern regions of each dialect and a discussion of the movements of these dialects: Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia*, pp.46-47.

For a history of the development of literary Croatian:

Michaela S. Iovine, 'The Illyrian language question among the Southern Slavs in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question*, vol.1, pp.101-156.

Chief among the compilers of Croatian dictionaries are:

Giacomo Micaglia S.J. (1600?-1654), otherwise Jakov Mikalja or Jacobus Micalia, an Italian and the author of *Blago Jezika*

Slovinskoga illi Slovnik u komu iz govarajuse rjecii slovinske Latinski i Diacki, which was published in 1649 at Rome where the cost of publication was met by the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*. Micaglia's declaration of purpose is printed in the introduction to the dictionary.

Faust Vrančić (1551-1617), son of the secretary of Jánoe Zápolyai, he designed among other *machinae novae* a prototype parachute and compiled a five language Latin-Italian -German-Dalmatian [i.e. Croatian] -Hungarian dictionary, the *Dictionarium quinque nobilissimarum europae linguarum* (Venice, 1595).

Juraj Habdelić S.J. (1609-1678), educated at Zagreb, Vienna, Graz and Tyrnau and tutor at the Jesuit colleges in Rijeka, Varaždin and Zagreb. He compiled a dictionary, the *Dictionar, ili Rechi Szlovenszke zvexega ukup zebrane u red posztaulyene i Diachkemi zlahkotene* (Graz, 1670) for the use of the students at the Zagreb college. He was also the author of various devotional works in the kajkavski dialect. The popularity of his work in north Croatia is reflected in the frequency with which they are listed in library inventories of the period; Olga Šoljat, 'Juraj Habdelić (1609-1678) i njegov književni rad', *Kaj*, vol.7, no.10.

Ivan Belostenec (1594/5-1675), otherwise Joannis Bélloszténécz, member of the order of Saint Paul of Thebes, born at Varaždin and studied at the Jesuit College in Vienna and the *Collegium Germanicum* at Rome,

author of *Gazophylacium seu Latino-Illyricorum Onomatum Aerarium* (Zagreb, 1740: hereafter, *Gazophylacium*), published posthumously, predominantly kajkavski with some čakavski and štokavski and Turkisms probably brought to north Croatia by fugitives from Ottoman rule; Josip Vončina's extensive essay 'Leksikografski rad Ivana Belostenca', *Gazophylacium*, 1973 facsimile edition, pp. iii-xliv, with English abstract, vol. 2, pp. xlv-xlvii.

23. Juraj Baraković (1548-1628), a glagolithic priest from Zadar, author of *Vila Slovinka* (Venice, 1613), described by Črnja as 'our first patriotic panegyric about the greatness and glory of the Slav nation': Črnja, op. cit., p. 273.

24. Katarina Zrinski, otherwise Katalin Zrínyi, introduction to the *Putni Tovaruš* (Venice, 1661). She was the wife of Petar Zrinski and the sister of his co-conspirator Fran Krsto Tržački Frankopan, otherwise Fran Frangepan (1643-1671).

25. Antun Vramec, in the preface to his *Kronika Vezda Znovich Zpravliena Kratka Szlovenzkim Iezikom*, which was published at Ljubljana in 1578 on a travelling printing press.

26. Nikola Zrinski composed in Hungarian an account of the siege of Siget entitled *Adriai tengernek Syrenaja* (Vienna, 1651) which Petar Zrinski rendered into a Croatian adaption as *Sirena adrianskoga mora* (Venice, 1660). Angyal discusses the mixing of Hungarian and South Slav literary traditions within both works: Angyal,

op.cit., p.232 ff. Mirko Tomasović discusses Croatian adaptions of Molière in 'Aspects de la réception Croate de Molière au XVIIIe siècle': Heger and Matillon, op.cit., pp.75-90. Fran Frankopan translated Molière's *George Dandin ou le Mari confondu* (1669) into Croatian.

27. Ivan Čikulin, introduction to *Idea Magnanimitatis Illyricae et Pannonicae viginti Quatuor* (Zagreb, 1705).

28. Drama at Jesuit grammar schools in Croatia: Vanino, op.cit., vol.1, pp.261-288; with particular reference to Croatian themes, for example the life of Saint Kvirin bishop of Sisak, ibidem, pp.266-7. The frontispiece to Rattkay's history showed Saints Paul, Jerome, Constantine the philosopher and bishop of Bulgaria, Kvirin bishop of Sisak, Caius of Split, Augustine bishop of Zagreb, Budimir king of Dalmatia Croatia and Slavonia, Ivan son of Gostumil of Croatia and Godescalcus King of Slavonia and martyr. Some of these saints adorned the silver missal cover commissioned c.1690 by Aleksander Mikulić, bishop of Zagreb (q.v. p.207 below): Ivan Ikalčić, 'Slike Majke Božje iz ruševina medvedgradskih; ujedno osvrt na djelovanje biskupa Mikulić', *Katolički list*, no.41, pp.516-520.

Calendars of Illyrian saints: Ivan Tomko Mrnavić, bishop of Bosnia, *Regiae sanctitatis Illyricanae foecunditas* (Rome, 1630); Frane Glavinić (1585-1652), *Cvit Szvetih, to jest sivot Szvetih od kih Rimsska Czrikva çini spominak* (Venice, 1627).

29. According to Lewis and Short, the Illyrians were 'A people on the Adriatic sea, in the modern Dalmatia and Albania': see *Illyriani*, Lewis and Short, op. cit. The Roman province of Illyricum around A.D. 14 covered modern Croatia, Bosnia and Slavonia with part of Istria east of the river Raša and bordered on Macedonia at the river Drilo, on Moesia at the river Drina and on Pannonia in a line parallel but somewhat south of the river Sava. For the varying use of the name Illyrian from Roman times until the nineteenth century: Despalatović, op. cit., pp. 2-4.

30. Vinko Pribojević's, otherwise Vincentius Pribevo, original address of 1525 was published in Latin as *Oratio de origini successibusque Slavorum* (Venice, 1532). For Pribojević's role in the evolution of Illyrian theories: Reinhard Lauer, 'Genese und Funktion des illyrischen Ideologems in den südslawischen Literaturen (16 bis Anfang des 19 Jahrhunderts)', *Ethnogenese und Staatsbildung im Südosteuropa; Beitrage zum III Internationalen Südosteuropa- Kongreß*, pp. 118-110; Črnja, op. cit., pp. 676-77.
There is a Croatian translation of Pribojević's work by Veljko Gortan, *O podrijetlu i zgodama Slavena* (Zagreb, 1951).

31. In the seventeenth century, Illyricum appeared on maps to designate Croatia and the regions inhabited by the South Slavs. The legend to Johannes Blaeu's *Illiricum Hodiernum* (Amsterdam, 1669) referred to 'Illiricum today which writers commonly are wont to call Sclavonia and the Italians Schievonia, divided into Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia

and Slavonia. The greater part is oppressed by the Turks and is divided in Prefectures, or according to their manner sanjaks, and the rest the Venetians, Hungarians and Ragusans hold. The sanjaks are Bosnia, the residence of the Pasha, Posega, Cernik, Bihać, Lika and Krbava, Klissa and Hercegovina': reproduced in Ankica Pandžić, *Pet Stoljeća Zemljopisnih Karata Hrvatske*, p. 69.

Blaeu's map and his connections with Ivan Lučić and Peter Zrinski: Miroslav Kurelac, preface to *Lucius/Lučić, o kraljevstvu Dalmacije i Hrvatske*, p. 69, also 'Prilog Ivan Luciuse-Lučića povijesti roda Zrinskih i njegove veze s banon Zrinskim', *Zbornik Historijskog Zavoda J. A. Z. U.* vol. 8, pp. 101-132.

32 According to the Bull of Sextus V, only those knowing the Illyrian language and of Illyrian descent were eligible for admittance to the College of Saint Jerome. When, in 1651, a candidate from a family based in Ljubljana applied for admission, a debate ensued over whether the inhabitants of Carniola, Carinthia and Styria could be counted as Illyrians. The matter was settled in 1656 when the Pope declared that while Croatia, Bosnia and Slavonia were parts of 'Illyricum or 'Dalmatia', these other provinces were completely excluded: Ivan Golub, 'Juraj Križanić i pitanje prava Slovenacana Svetojeronimske ustanove u Rimu', *Historiski Zbornik*, vols 21-22, pp. 213-258, with French abstract, p. 259.

33. For example, Marko Marulić's, *Animadversiones in eos qui B. Hyeronimum Italum esse contendunt*, included in Ivan Lučić, *De*

Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae.

Library inventories referred to throughout the thesis are listed among the Primary Sources in the Bibliography.

Notes

Chapter Two

1. *Fata et Vota sive Opera Anagrammaton* (hereafter, *Fata et Vota*) p. 208.

2. The main primary sources for Vitezović's biography are: his defence speech of 1710, the *Obrana Pavla Rittera Vitezovića*, Arh. Jug. Ak. IV. D. 86, edited by Vjekoslav Klaić as the 'Obrana Pavla Ritter Vitezovića od g. 1710' (hereafter, 'Obrana'), *Grada J.A.Z.U.* vol. 8, pp. 375-394; verse letter to the prince-archbishop of Olomouc, Karl Liechtenstein-Castelcorno, Vienna, June 1687, *Epistola metrica celsissimo ac reverendissimo principi ac domino domino Carolo episcopo Olomucensi* (hereafter, *Epistola Carolo Olomucensi*), edited by Fr. Snopek, 'Paul Ritter Vitezović; Beiträge zu seiner Biographie', *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, vol. 28, pp. 593-600; verse on the occasion of his own thirtieth birthday, *De natali die sui ipsius, 7. Januarii*, included by Vitezović in his anthology *Nova Musa sive Pars artificiosa operum poeticorum quae annuo ablegationis suae ad Caesaream aulam tempore concinnabat* (n. p., hereafter, *Nova Musa*), Vienna, 1683, with a Croatian translation published by Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p. 9; drafts of petitions, *Miscellanea* R 3451 pp. 14, 16-17, 22-23, 41, 43, 45, and the 1697 petition to the Emperor Leopold published by Lopašić, 'Slavonski spomenici za xvii. viek. Pisma iz Slavonije u xvii vieku (1633-1709)', (hereafter, 'Slavonski spomenici', *Starine jugoslavenske akademije*, vol. 30, pp. 133-134; also recommended is the collection of miscellaneous documents edited by Artur Schneider,

'Prilozi za život i književni rad Pavla Ritter Vitezovića', *Vjestnik kr. Hrvatsko-Slavonsko-Dalmatinskog Zemaljskog Arhiva*, vol.6, pp.114-126.

Vjekoslav Klaić's biography of Vitezović, *Život i Djela Pavla Rittera Vitezovića* is recommended as a full biography of Vitezović. It should be noted that, at the time of writing *Život i Djela*, Klaić did not know of the survival of Vitezović's defence speech.

3. The range of Vitezović's interests is reflected in his collection of books recorded by agents of the Hungarian Chancery after his death at Vienna: copy of the original *Inventarium rerum perillustris eondam domini Pauli Ritter, die 20. mensis ianuarii 1713*, bound in *Miscellanea* N.S.B. R 3451; also Schneider, op.cit., pp.122-126.

4. Janez Vajkard Valvasor (1641-1691) was active in the fields of historiography, geography, ethnography and cartography. He was admitted to the Royal Society of London as a fellow on the 14th December 1697, having presented a study of Lake Cerniško: *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society, no. 191, (London, 1687).
He travelled to Germany, England, Denmark, France, Spain, Italy and north Africa. His magnificent library at Wagensberg became the core of the library of the bishops of Zagreb; its contents are listed in the separate index to the Metropolitana Library, Zagreb. Among the many famous scholars whose works are represented, are Robert Boyle, Tycho Brahe, Robert Fludd, Johannes Kepler, Athanasius Kircher, Thomas Campion, Thomas Linacre and Martin Luther.

There is a thorough biography of Valvasor by Branko Reisp written in Slovene with abstracts in German and English: Reisp, *Kranjski Polihistor Janez Vajkard Valvasor.*

5. Vitezović described his activities in a verse-letter to a friend dated 1676, quoted by Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p. 22:

I paint transparent glass with yellow gold,
Or I mould wax and press it into new forms,
Or I trace fine images of the regions on copper,
Or I learn to measure the earth or the stars in heaven.

Vitezović's copper engravings are listed in The Works of Pavao Ritter Vitezović, Appendix Three, part v. The reference to moulding wax suggests he was preparing figures for metal casting. Valvasor reported to the Royal Society on a method which he was developing for casting slender metal statues: *Philosophical Transactions* no. 186 (London, 1687), p. 259 ff; Reisp, op. cit., pp. 159-163, in English, p. 401.

6. At Vienna Vitezović studied geography and military architecture with Georg Matthias Vischer (1628-1695) the geographer, cartographer, mathematician and author of *Topographia Ducatus Styriae* 1681. Vischer provided one of the puff verses for Vitezović's *Nova Musa* and Vitezović in turn provided a verse to accompany an engraving of Vischer: Klaić *Život i Djela*, p. 48; also a verse to accompany Vischer's map of Hungary, verse 47. *Otia metrica manuscripta et impressa Vienae Austriae Anni 1682* (hereafter, *Otia metrica 1682*), N.S.B. R 3461. He also studied astronomy with one Baron Ochsenstein: Klaić, 'Obrana', p. 383, and *Život i Djela*, pp. 45-47.

7. Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli (1658-1730), otherwise Marsili, soldier, adviser to Emperor Leopold, client of General Caraffa and advocate of centralization, expert on the Ottoman government and its military regulations, geographer and antiquarian and botanist: Raffaella Gherardi, *Potere e costituzione a Vienna fra Sei e Settecento; Il "buon ordine" di Luigi Ferdinando Marsili*; also Wurzbach, op.cit.

Marsigli's papers in the university library at Bologne: Stjepan Beigl, 'Spisi grofa Marsiljija u sveučilišnoj biblioteci u Boloniji', *Glasnik zemaljskoga muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovni*, pp.537-563.

8. It was only through Lučić's *De Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae* that Vitezović had access to the main sources for Croatian history: the work of Constantine Porphyrogenitus; the *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina*, the chronicle written c.1149 by the Priest of Dioclea, otherwise Presbyter Diocleatis, a priest from Bar; and the histories of Thomas the Archdeacon from Split (1200-1268), otherwise Thomas Archdiaconus Spalatensis, author of *Historia Salonitana*.

9. Vitezović issued several public appeals for documents and details of family histories and coats-of arms: preface to *Kronika, Aliti Szpomen Vszega Szvieta Vikov* (hereafter, *Kronika*); his address *Universis Dalmatiae Croatiae, Slavoniae, Bossnae, Serbiae, Rassiae et Coeterorum Gloriosae Slavae sive Illyricae Nationis Regnorum Provinciarumque Magistantibus, Paroecis & Nobilibus Incolis*.

In his discussion of whether the Croatian bans could mint coin, he

referred to the material evidence of coins uncovered while travelling with Marsigli and of other coins presented to Aleksander Mikulić, the bishop of Zagreb (q.v. note 29, p.207 below): *Banalogia sive de banatu Croatiae cum Continua banorum chronologia ab A.C. 576* (hereafter, *Banalogia*), Chapter Eight.

Adam Baltazar Krčelić referred to his use of a popular song in the now lost *Tractatus qualiter Croatia ad ius Ungaricum devenerit*: Krčelić, *De Regnis Dalmatiae, Croatiae, Slavoniae Notitiae Praeliminares*, p.133.

10. Gábor Hevenesi S.J. (1656-1715), one time rector of the Croatian College at Vienna. Vitezović's letters to Hevenesi from the years 1701-1703: *Epistolae metricae*, Arh. Jug. Ak. IV.c.4.

Leopold Kollonich (1631-1707), otherwise Kollonić, soldier, cardinal and primate of Hungary, president of the Hungarian Chancery and advocate of centralization, was Vitezović's first great patron at Vienna. Vitezović won Kollonich's patronage while still an ambitious young man attending the diet at Sopron in 1681, having courted him with appeals to the Kollonich family's Croatian ancestry: Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p.42.

Vitezović honoured Kollonich in the eulogy *Nova Equestris Imago*, printed in the anthology *Nova Musa*.

11. Šišić, 'Hrvatska historiografija', p.34-35.

12. Klaić suggests that Vitezović's *Lado hervacki* might have fallen foul of the censors: Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p.198.

13. Anagrams were not necessarily 'superstition' and invested with magical significance but could be intended simply as a 'pretie conceit': George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, (1589), Book Two, Chapter Eleven, pp. 82-85.

Vitezović's most important collections of anagrams: *Fata et Vota; Anagrammaton sive Laurus auxiliatoribus Ungariae pars prima, liber primus* (hereafter, *Anagrammaton I*); *Anagrammaton sive Laurus auxiliatoribus Ungariae liber secundus* (hereafter, *Anagrammaton II*); *Anagrammaton liber tertius* (hereafter, *Anagrammaton III*); anagrams to Peter the Great, *Geneticon sive Fatum ex Nominibus Serenissimi Potentissini Invinctissimique Principis ac Domini Petri Alexievich Moscorum Imperatoris, Magnae Russiae Monarchae*, Arh. Jug. Ak. II.b.58.

Examples of individual anagrams: anagrams of his mother's name Dorotej Lučkinić, in *De natali die sui ipsius*; anagram and verse in honour of Blaise Jaklin, Bishop of Knin, *Epaeneticon*; in honour of Aleksander Mikulić, *Vinculum ex Pindiis hortis cum adnexo novo anno xeniolo* (n.p., hereafter, *Vinculum ex Pindiis hortis*); anagram CROATIA/ ATROCIA, *Plorantis Croatiae saecula duo* (hereafter, *Plorantis Croatiae*), p.52.

Acrostics: Final verses in *Vinculum ex Pindiis hortis*; *Natales Divo Ladislavo Rege Slavoniae Apostolo Restituti* (hereafter, *Natales Divo Ladislavo*), pp. 48-49.

Vitezović's chronograms, picked out in the upper case lettering of some of his book-titles, have been reproduced in Appendix Three, part 1.

For Vitezović's work as a compiler of puzzles: Slavko Peleh, 'Vitezovićev prilog zagonetastvu', *Senski Zbornik*, vol.6, pp.397-402; also Peleh, 'Vitezović rebusist (Hijeroglifist)', ibidem, pp.389-396.

14. Formal literary satire after the Roman model underwent a vigorous revival throughout Europe during the seventeenth-century, a revival which was in part encouraged by the re-discovery in 1650 of Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis*, believed lost since the Middle Ages, at Trogir on the Dalmatian coast. Of the Roman satirists, Juvenal was particularly popular with Vitezović and his acquaintances: see the imitations of Juvenal by Vitezović, and Adam Zrinski, the son of the late ban Nikola Zrinski in Klaić, *Život i Djela*, pp. 31, 57. The type of confessional autobiography which Vitezović attempted had its literary origins in the satires of Horace.

This tradition of literary imitation continued among the Croats during the eighteenth century: Josip Keresturi (1739-1794) marked the death of the Emperor Joseph II with *Josephus II in Campis Elysiis*, a parody of the *Apocolocyntosis* of Seneca; see Tomo Matić, 'Pjesnik napitnice "Nikaj na svetu lepšega ni" o političkim prilikama poslije smrti Josipa II', *Hrvatska Smotra*, vol.9, pp.398-407.

15. Vitezović wrote *De natali dies sui ipsius 7 Januarii* on the occasion of his thirtieth birthday. The following extract shows the

general mood of the verse:

If Fortune should henceforth favour me no better,
Than hitherto she has favoured me to this present day,
I should hope that not one day more might dawn for me alive,
That tomorrow be given over to my funeral rites,
Death is not to be feared by one,
For whom life was always less than pleasant,

Other examples of Vitezović bemoaning his fate as one ill-starred: *Plorantis Croatiae* for the year of his birth 1652, p. 66; Anagram 62, *Otia Metrica Curis Exularibus Surrepta Annis MDCCX et XI* (hereafter, *Otia metrica 1710-1711*), N.S.B. R 3460.

It was his disdain of the corrupt society in which he lived that made him reluctant to embark upon a public career or marriage, or so he tried to persuade a friend of his father anxious for his future: verse letter to Adam Mordax c. 1676, Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p. 24.

In self-imposed exile after 1710 and in disgrace at Zagreb, he wrote in the introduction to *Bosna Captiva sive Regnum et interitus Stephani ultimi Bossnae regis* (n.p., hereafter, *Bosna Captiva*) that the 'bitter vicissitudes of my fortune commended to my genius' the 'calamitous material' of the destruction of the Bosnian Kingdom.

16. Vitezović, in a letter to Vinko Brajković c. 1676 wrote with reference to Senj, 'Note well how our *patria* hates learned men and those to whom it gives birth, it wishes far from it': Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p. 24, p. 41.

17. In his defence speech, Vitezović defended himself against the following accusations: that he had sought another's property to which

others were entitled; that he had eaten meat on fast days; that his late wife had rarely attended church; that he had misappropriated funds from the printing-press; see Klaić, 'Obrana', p. 379.

For the case and all its intricacies: Klaić, *Život i Djela*, Chapter Nine, pp. 216-247.

18. Neo-stoicism with particular reference to Justus Lipsius: G. Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State*.

For a concise account of the essentials of stoic philosophy: Bertrand Russell, *History of Western Philosophy*, Chapter Twenty-eight pp. 260-276.

Seneca (c. 3 B.C. - A.D. 65), one of Vitezović's favourite authors, had been claimed as a Christian by several Church Fathers, so concordant did they find his philosophy with Christian teaching. The neo-stoics, recognizing the same compatibility, revered him as *Seneca Christianus*: see the work with that title by J. B. Schellenberg (Augsburg, 1637) which was translated into Hungarian for Ádám Batthyány, grandfather of the Croatian ban of the same name; R.J.W. Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, p. 113.

Seneca and his influence as tutor over the young Nero: M.T. Griffin, *Seneca: a Philosopher in Politics*.

19. *De constantia libri duo qui alloquium praecipue continent in publicis malis* (hereafter, *De constantia*) is the title of Justus Lipsius' treatise advocating stoic detachment amid political turmoil. For the Hungarians' reception of neo-stoicism: Oestreich, op. cit., pp. 101-102.

20. Bertrand Russell sagely observes the appeal of stoicism to the jaded mind:

> When we compare the tone of Marcus Aurelius with that of Bacon, or Locke or Condorcet, we see the difference between a tired and a hopeful age. In a hopeful age, great present evils can be endured because it is thought that they will pass; but in a tired age even real goods lose their savour. The Stoic ethic suited the times of Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, because its gospel was one of endurance rather than hope.

Russell, op. cit., p. 269.

21. Vitezović headed *Lado Horvatzki* with the caveat from the *Acts of the Apostles*, Chapter One, verse 7: 'It is not for you to know about dates or times, which the Father has set within his own control'.

Vitezović compiled a horoscope and accompanying verse to mark the birth of a son to Count Malaspina: *Gaudium Patri ex nati felicitate*.

22. Klaić, 'Obrana', p. 390.

23. The ungodliness of the clergy, in particular their greed, is one of the major themes of Vitezović's defence speech: Klaić, 'Obrana', pp. 378-380; his quotation from Lipsius , ibidem, p. 378. He presented himself as a victim of the clergy, exclaiming 'Would that the fatherland had been kinder to such a fate as mine, the clergy holier and my enemies wiser'; ibidem, p. 391.

The contemptuous tone he used seems unfeigned. It could have done little to assist his case. The same disdain for the clergy is apparent in the verse-letter, dated 1710, which he wrote to Franjo Nittray, the chaplain of St Mark's, Zagreb: Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p. 16.

24. The conflict between the stoic ideal and the demands of the *patria*: Oestreich, op.cit., pp.19-21.

25. Klaić, 'Obrana', p.391.

26. Klaić, 'Obrana', p.381.

27. Klaić, 'Obrana', p.386.

28. Vitezović referred to the patronage of ban Erdödy and Mikulić, bishop of Zagreb, in his defence speech: Klaić, 'Obrana', p.387 and p.391.

29. Aleksander Mikulić from Brokunovac, bishop of Zagreb 1688-1694 helped Vitezović with the printing-press and gave him a house near the bishop's palace. Vitezović marked his birthday with the *Vinculum ex Pindlis hortis* and dedicated to him *Anagrammaton II*. He recorded Mikulić's accession in the *Kronika*, year 1688, and his death in *Plorantis Croatiae* among the calamities of 1694, p.81. Mikluić was among those who suggested the subject of the *Banalogia* to Vitezović: Chapter Five, p.119. He was known to have an interest in antiquities: *Banalogia*, Chapter Eight.

Mikulić is credited with being the founder of the *Metropolitana*, the library of the bishops of Zagreb. He purchased Valvasor's vast collection of books in 1693 for 3000 Rheinish forints and gave a wing of the bishop's palace to be used as a library: Ikalčić, op.cit., p.517.

The library is mentioned by Vitezović: *De Zagrabiensi Episcopatu* in *Opuscula varia ad historiam Illyricam spectantia*, N.S.B. R 3454. He was possibly the nephew of the Aleksander Mikulić who collaborated with the Turks: Rattkay, op.cit., pp.256-257; and whose library was confiscated, 'Mikulich Sándor könyvtára 1657', *A magyar könyvkultúra múltjából* (Siget, 1983), pp.537-542.

30. The Jesuits at Zagreb had been given a printing-press in 1664 as a personal bequest from Petar Bošnjak, secretary to Ferenc Wesselényi, the Hungarian palatine and conspirator. The Jesuits had been unable to use the press because they had acquired the wrong print-type. The printing-press was maintained at Vitezović's house in the Gornji Grad, Zagreb: Lelja Dobronić, 'Pavao Vitezović u Zagrebu', *Senjski Zbornik*, vol.6, 1975, pp.71-76. The activity of the press under Vitezović's management can be judged from Adam Alojzij Baričević's catalogue, *Cathalogus Librorum Zagrabiae Impressorum ab anno 1690 usque 1800*. Arh. Jug. Ak. 1.b.93.

31. *Vinculum ex Pindiis hortiis.*

32. Vitezović's commendatory verses in honour of Valvasor: *Ad Archiducalem Carinthiae Nymphan, de novo Illustrissimi Domini Domini Joannis Weichardi Valvasor Liberi Baronis &c, in Valvasor, Topographia Archiducatus Carinthiae antiquae et modernae complete; Ad Opus descriptionis Ducatus Carnioliae Illustrissimi*

Domini Domini Joannis Weichardi Valvasor, Liberi Baronis &c, in Valvasor, *Die Ehre des Herzogthums Crain* (hereafter, *Die Ehre*).

33. *Amor in patriam* as instinct bestowed by nature: preface to *Serbiae Illustratae libri octo* (hereafter, *Serbia Illustrata*), N.S.B. R 3452; *Natales Divo Ladislavo rege Slavoniae Apostolo Restituti* (hereafter, *Natales Divo Ladislavo*), p.3.

34. Vitezović's use of maxims: preface to *Serbia Illustrata*; Klaić, 'Obrana', p.378, p.382, p.389.
For the fashion for such maxims and quotation in imitation of Justus Lipsius: Oestreich, op.cit., p.59.

35. Priricsnik aliti Razliko Mudroszti Cvitje (hereafter, *Priricsnik*), p.2.

36. *Priricsnik*, p.3. Compare: Vitezović's praise of the fallen youths at Jajce, *Plorantis Croatiae*, p.3; *Odiljenje Sigetsko*, Voncina's edition, p.371; maxims for the month of *Rosanj* (May), *Zoroast Hervacki aliti Meszecsnik i Dnevnik Goszpodszki i Goszpodarszki na vse Godische kojese pise od porojenja Goszpodna Naddega 1698* (hereafter, *Zoroast 1698*); maxims for the month of *Rujan* (September), *Zaroast Hervacki aliti Meszecsnik i Dnevnik &c 1699* (hereafter, *Zaroast Hervacki 1699*). The spelling of the two titles illustrates the inconsistencies within Vitezović's Croatian orthography.

37. God, King and fatherland: *Virtutes Coronatae sive VIII heroes vellere aureo decorati, ad parnassi applausum lecti* (hereafter, *Virtutes Coronatae VIII*), p. 2; *Plorantis Croatiae*, for example, 1572, p. 30 and 1695, p. 81.

38. Sources for the Ritter family history: the Ritter family charter dated Prague, 15th October 1652, Arh. Jug. Ak. A. 74; drafts of Vitezović's petitions as cited, footnote 2. above; 1676 verse-letter to Baron Wolfgang Adam Mordax, no. 9, *Epistolarum Metricarum*, Arh. Jug. Ak. II.D.147.; verse to Liechtenstein-Castelcorno, as cited note 2, above; *Kronika*, year 1676; Valvasor, *Die Ehre*, vol. 12, p. 32.

Klaić discusses the Rittere' Alsatian ancestry; *Život i Djela*, pp. 3-5. Bidermann and Wurzbach, finding Vitezović too much of a *rara avis* in the then benighted Croatia, believed he had been raised in Belgium: Bidermann, *Gescichte der oesterreichischen Gesamnt-Staats-Idee 1526-1604*, p. 233; Wurzbach, op. cit., vol. 26, p. 189.

39. In 1697, the special commission investigating property questions in Slavonia noted that Vitezović's parents' service, was not known to them: Klaić, *Život i djela*, p. 116.

40. Verse-letter to Ivan Karl Portner, later vice-captain at Senj: Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p. 18.

41. Vitezović honoured Ricciardi with the eulogy *Novus Skenderbeg*,

seu Illustrissimus Dominus, Dominus Comes Don Petrus Ricejardi (hereafter, *Novus Skenderbeg*.

42. Angyal, op. cit., p. 14.

43. Verse-letter to Baron Mordax, verse no. 9, *Epistolarum Metricarum*, quoted in Klaić, *Život i Djela* p. 3.

44. Vitezović wrote two verses about Senj and its citizens, the Senjani: *Lamentatio Segniae*, Arh. Jug. Ak. II.a.65, see Chapter Three, p. 63; *Szejncsica aliti Djacska od Szejnskoga na moru junastva* is reproduced with commentary by Milan Mogus, 'Vitezovićeva Senjčica', *Senjski Zbornik*, vol. 5, pp. 375-392 and tells of how a group of Senjani captured a French ship during the War of the Spanish Succession.

See also *Plorantis Croatiae*, 1557, p. 24.

45. Verse-letter to Ivan Despotović: Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p. 15.

46. Puns on Vitezović's name: Valvasor, *Die Ehre*, vol. 12, p. 90.; also verse-letter from Petar Crnković to Vitezović, 2 August, 1702 quoted by Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p. 182.

Vitezović served a probationary year as *Eques crucifer* in the order *Angelicae Auratae Constantinianae Militiae S. Georgii*. In 1687, while attending the diet at Pozsony, Vitezović was made a member of the order of Golden Knights: *Kronika*, year 1687.

47. Verse-letter to Ivan Despotović: Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p. 15.

48. *Lexicon Latino-Illyricum*, Metropolitana MR-112. Vitezović sometimes would refer to Senj as his *patria*: verse-letter to Ivan Locatelli c. 1679; also Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p. 33.

49. Valvasor, *Die Ehre*, vol. 12. p. 85. ff.

50. *Odiljenje Sigetska*, Vitezović's first published work in the vernacular, is written in the čakavski dialect of his home district. His later kajkavski writings contain a fair number of čakavski words and expressions; Zvonimir Junković, 'O jeziku Vitezovićeva Kronike', *Radovi Slavenskog Instituta*, vol. 2, pp. 93–118.
The incident of the čakavski speaking priest: Vončina, preface to *Izabrana djela: Zrinski, Frankopan, Vitezović*, p. 351.

51. Klaić, 'Obrana', p. 386.

52. Vitezović remarked to Karl Portner a vice-captain at Senj that he was having difficulties learning the German tongue: Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p. 22.

53. The first use of Vitezović as a Croatian form of Ritter appears to be in the introduction to *Odiljenje Sigetska*. Vitezović used both forms of his family name throughout the remainder of his life, usually appending Vitezović to his vernacular and Ritter to his Latin writings.

In the nineteenth century, another champion of the Croats' cause was embarrassed by his non-Croatian name. Ljudevit Vukotinović (1813-1893) was born with the Hungarian family name Farkas, meaning wolf, which, like Ritter, he translated into the Croatian adding a characteristic -ović ending. Writing of Vukotinović's change of name, Banac observes that he was 'imbued with a powerful ideology that required change not only in his spiritual environment but even in his most elementary self-identity': Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia*, p. 30. Surely it is not anachronistic to suppose that Vitezović too was moved by a need for consistency within his personal identity?

Notes

Chapter Three

1. *Florantis Croatiae*, from the dedication (n.p.) to Count Johannes Ferdinand Herberstein. Vitezović referred to Heraclitus 'the obscure' of Halicarnassus (flor. c.500B.C.), famous for his 'haughty, aristocratic views and melancholy philosophy': see Sir Paul Harvey, *Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*, p.204.

2. The resurrection metaphor is among the oldest metaphors for national revival. Vitezović was careful to distinguish between the processes represented by *redivivа* and *illustrata*. At the end of the introduction to *Serbia Illustrata*, he advised the Serbs to 'accept *Serbia Illustrata*, your fatherland and ancestors as represented in a mirror, I shall not say *redivivа*, resurrrected.' The phrase *Croatia redivivа* comes from the titles of the *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam regnante Leopoldo Magno Caesare* (hereafter, *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*) and the *Regia Illyriorum Croata sive Croatia Redivivа* (hereafter, *Regia Illyriorum*), N.S.B. R 3570.

Vitezović used one other metaphor for his work *Serbia Illustrata*: he wrote, 'I have revived the phoenix from the ashes for you, that the world and posterity may view it'. The phoenix is another ancient metaphor for rebirth, in particular through spiritual renewal: see for example the 'Phoenix of repentance' in a Croatian devotional work by Mihalj Simunić entitled *Fenix pokore pod krelyutmi Miloszerdnoga Pelikana Pochivajucha*, (Zagreb, 1697).

Ivo Banac gives an unusual, but valid, translation of the Latin *redivivus* which, unlike the familiar 'revived', draws attention to the existence of a metaphor: 'The redivived Croatia of Pavao Ritter Vitezović', Banac and Sysyn, op. cit., p. 492 ff.

3. *Anagrammaton I, Germanea laureata sive Pars laurus auxiliatoribus Ungariae, Novus Skenderbeg* 1697, are all spirited celebrations of the glory of war reflecting the mood after the raising of the siege of Vienna in 1684 and the first signs of a Turkish retreat.

4. Valvasor listed Vitezović's works in *Die Ehre*, vol. 12, p. 90 ff: see Appendix Three, section iii, Works *non extant*.

5. Vitezović wrote of Aleksander Mikulić:

Then he was sent as legate to the court of Caesar Augustus
To seek help for the ship-wrecked fatherland (*naufragae patriae*)

Vinculum ex Pindis hortis.

The metaphor is an old one: compare 'to gather together the *naufragium*, the wreck of the republic', Cicero, *Oratio pro Sestio*.

6. Vitezović gave an account of the symbolism of the Croatian *šaharica*, (chess board), one of the most potent and enduring symbols of Croatia, in the *Stemmatographia sive Armorum Illyricorum delineatio, descriptio et restitutio* (hereafter, *Stemmatographia*):

Red and silver are alternated in this field
Inviting the wavering lots to my fates
For sure, here is thrown the dice of wavering Mars
Stemmatographia, p. 15.

7. Banalogia, Chapter Ten: *De Banatus amplitudine et divisione.*

8. Vitezović developed the image of Croatia as a woman ravaged by war in *Grates pro gratis quas Invinctissimo Augustissimo Leopoldo.... Hungariæ, Dalmatiæ, Croatiæ et Sclavoniæ.... agunt* (hereafter, *Grates pro gratis*) included in the anthology *Nova Musa*:

Behold! Humble, I, the Croat Muse (a servant whom perchance
You will think a foreigner), give kisses to your feet,
I have come before your throne, King Leopold
I advance in the image of a pauper, of a bound servant
I do not retain my former countenance, my former beauty
Nor do I have that beauty which once was mine

Compare *Lamentatio Segniæ* where the town of Senj presents herself as 'a virgin, her hair burnt and dishevelled' and exclaims 'I suffer with the full sorrow of Niobe for her sons'.

9. Accounts of countryside laid waste by war and which contrasts agriculture with warfare belong to a literary tradition indebted to Virgil's first *Georgic* where the Roman poet wrote of the damage wreaked by civil war upon the Italian countryside.
For examples of this theme in Vitezović: Sirmia, 'For the timid farmer ploughs the fields of Mars', *Stemmatographia* p. 43; Pannonia, 'Often were my fields bloody, my rivers bloody/ Thus are wars waged in my fertile fields', ibidem p. 33.

10. From the dedication to Herberstein, *Plorantis Croatiæ*.
The theme of devastation is developed throughout the text: see the account of the year 1528, where the lands between the rivers Vrbas, Una

and Sava, once rich with settlements have been deserted by farmers and become the home of bears and wolves, *Plorantis Croatiae*, pp. 10–11.

Compare:

[sc. *Croatia*] whose once strong towns and wealthy cities, fortified with ramparts, dykes and the strongest citizens, are now prostrate and flattened so that the remains of many can barely be made out and the names of not a few have been erased.

Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam, p. 30.

In Hungarian literature, devastation appears as a theme in the very book titles: for example, Christianus Schesaeus' history of Hungary and Transylvania between 1541–1571 entitled *Ruinae Pannonicae libri xii.* (Wittenberg, 1581).

11. Similes for the Turks in *Plorantis Croatiae* icy northwind, p. 2; bear after honey, p. 24.

12. The title *Antemurale Christianitatis* was conferred upon Croatia by Pope Leo X in 1519. The Poles had long rejoiced in the same title:

Norman Davies, *God's Playground; a History of Poland*, p. 159 ff.

Plorantis Croatiae contains many examples of Turkish hostility to Christianity: desecration of shrines, year 1528 p. 11 and 1543 p. 17; Hassan, although born of Christian parents, is driven by 'fierce hatred of the name of Christ' 1593 p. 42.; also the prefect Abram 'a man fierce, greedy for booty, cruel toward s all who devotedly adore the holy name of

Christ, 1656 p.68; the Turk in general 'the more he drinks of Christian blood, the more he thirsts' 1592 p.40.

The supreme sacrilege for the Serbs had been the burning of the body of Saint Sava: for Vitezović's suitably appalled account, see January 14th in *Indigetes Illyricani, sive Vitae Sanctorum Illyrici* (hereafter, *Indigetes Illyricani*), N.S.B. R 3456.

13. *Plorantis Croatiae*, 1615 p.59.

14. Vitezović expressed his doubts that the Turks would abide by the peace achieved at Karlowitz in 1699:

But no mortal in the whole world more swiftly
Rallies an afflicted mind and forgetful of grave ills
Breaks the bonds of tranquil peace than the Turkish race.

Plorantis Croatiae, p.87.

Compare, 'if however something remains to be hoped for in this peace/ Which I think will hardly stand the time assigned', *Ad comitem Marsilium Caesareum Legatum*, included in *Plorantis Croatiae*, pp.91-92.

15. Nikola and Petar Zrinski emphasized the element of Habsburg betrayal in their accounts of the siege of Siget where the failure of the Habsburgs to send relief to the besieged Nikola Zrinski was used as proof of German perfidy: Črnja, op.cit., p.313; also note 41 below and Chapter Five, p.131.

16. Vitezović attributed the Christians' failure to form an alliance against the Turks to their selfishness:

If now the Christians had been of one mind and heart;
How easily they all could have driven from Europe
The hostile Turk, a friend not of their blood,
But each cared for his private interests at home
Mindful of his own dangers, no-one wanted another's ill;
The whole neighbourhood is oppressed with this contagion.

Plorantis Croatiae, 1548, p.20.

See also, ibidem 1501, p.3 and 1664, p.72, 'To what great destruction did the discord of war-leaders give birth!'.

17. The 1540 treaty which Vitezović held up as an example of the Venetians promoting their self-interest, was in fact concluded under terms unfavourable to the Venetian Republic since it failed to secure the return of its last trading post in the Peloponnese. Compare *Plorantis Croatiae* 1574, p.14 and 1613, p.57 where the Venetians made an alliance with the Porte to the detriment of the Senjani since the Turks could pass freely through the waters of the Adriatic.

18. *Plorantis Croatiae*, 1601, p.54.

Vitezović claimed that it was the damage which the Senjani had inflicted upon Venetian shipping that had driven the Venetians to seek peace, yet again, with the Turks: *Plorantis Croatiae*, 1613, p.58.

19. For an account of the Conspiracy of the Magnates, see Chapter Five, pp.110-111 above.

20. Verse-letter from Vitezović to Count Juraj Sigismund Gallenberg, December 1676: quoted by Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p. 27.

21. Vitezović so described Herberstein in a letter to Franje Ivanović, 25th June 1682: no. 44, *Otia metrica 1682*, quoted in part by Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p. 52.

22. In *Lamentatio Segniae*, Senj laments that Herberstein has appropriated Kisslin, Brinye, Otočac, Ledenice, Krmpote, Jurjevo, Vilići, Brlog, Drenova, Klanci, Prozor, Brinye, Lučani, Dabar, Stajnica: 'These were always as one body and lofty Senj was their head'.

23. Vitezović did mention the troubles at Senj in 1698: *Florantis Croatiae*, 1698, pp. 83-84.

24. It was perhaps this consideration which led Vitezović to leave *Lamentatio Segniae* in manuscript.

25. Vitezović's letter to Stjepan Šelišćević, bishop of Zagreb, Ljubljana, 20 December 1695:

In truth, very many men here, and they the more wise, wonder that the laws and most ancient liberties of Croatia are guarded so sluggishly and with so little fervour; they wonder at this and with good reason. Since they [sc. the Styrians] are working their way into mastery of the Una area, I am of the opinion that what is needed is not just verbal protestations but direct action lest we should appear to give up our rights lightly. When we exercise our rights, we none of us cause injury, when we do not exercise them, we seem to abuse them. Only the Vlahs do not run away altogether and such a course of strong action is totally barred to them. I am now fixed in the opinion and I judge it would be best to seek a loan from the Republic of Geneva with which we could purchase these districts and incorporate them in our fatherland and under our law in perpetuity. The manner of procuring this loan and paying it, I have set out in part for your most honourable and reverend lord the protonotar. I make the additional point here that the inhabitants

themselves would collect almost the whole sum for the sake of the stability of their goods and possessions. Even if the Styrians gave into this now peacefully, they will later, in times of peace, force and drive into vassalage the Croats, the once so faithful and most brave defenders, so that the name of the once free Kingdom of Croatia would be changed into the appellation of a servile province of the Styrians. Then the words of Hecuba, in Seneca, will be interpreted to say of the Slav nation; If you should espy a wretch, deem him a Slav! May God, The Supreme and The Greatest mercifully keep His faithful Croatia from this ruin!

Epistolae Missiles Originales ad Episcopos, A.Z.N. years 1680-1712; quoted by Lopašić, '*Spomenici hrvatske krajine knjiga III od g. 1693 do 1780 i u dodatku od g. 1531 do 1730*' (hereafter, '*Spomenici hrvatske krajine*', *Monumenta Spectantia Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium*, vol. 20, book iii, p. 23. See also Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p. 100.

Vitezović later adapted the same lines from Seneca's *Troades*, substituting 'Croat' for Slav: *Plorantis Croatiae*, p. 89.

26. Letter to Stjepan Šelišćević: see note 24, above.

27. For a discussion of Attila as the *flagellum Dei* and of Nicholaus Olaus (1493-1567) and Olaus' *Athila* (sic) 1537: Birnbaum, op. cit., pp. 144-146.

28. Justus Lipsius, in *De Constantia*, cites Caesar, Attila, the two Vespasians, the persecutors of the Jews and Christians and Don John of Austria as agents of divine purpose: Oestreich, op. cit., pp. 21-27.

29. *Odiljenje Sigetsko*, from the section *Siget Zvrhu samoga sebe*, in Vončina's edition, p. 395 ff. See also Ban Zrinski's address to the heroes at Siget, ibidem p. 386.

30. Natural disasters are interspersed among the man-made calamities that make up the narrative of *Plorantis Croatiae* bitterly cold winters, 1514, p.4, and combined with a plague of insects 1603, p.55; insects, 1672, p.74; plague, 'with this scourge (*flagellum*) God censured the sins of men', 1624, p.61 also 1542, p.16 and 1691, p.78 *et passim; earthquakes, as a punishment for failing the previous year to mount an* offensive against the Turks, 1502, p.3 and later, the destruction of Dubrovnik and Kotor region, 1667, p.73 and also 1590, p.38 and 1699 p.84 *et passim*
For the neo-stoic Lipsius on this theme: Oestreich, op.cit., p.22.

31. Miklós Istvánffy (1535-1615) in *Historiarum de regus Hungaricis libri xxxiv* stressed the importance of adherence to Catholicism and attributed the Christians' failure at Siget to ill discipline and irreligion: Birnbaum, op.cit., p.245.

32. Vitezović was most probably influenced by the accounts of Siget by Nikola and Petar Zrinski. They echoed the sentiments expressed by their great-grandfather in his final speech, that God was punishing the nation. Literature about the siege of Siget: see Milivoj Šrepel's survey of *Sigetski junak* in Croatian poetry, 'Sigetski junak u povjesti hrvatskoga pjesništva', *Rad J.A.Z.U., pp.81-173*; Črnja, op.cit., pp.306-609; Birnbaum, op.cit., p.310 ff.

This passage in *Odiljenje Sigetsko* appears to be the only example of Vitezović passing judgement upon Protestantism. In the *Kronika* he reported the progress of Luther and Calvin in a matter-of-fact way

lifted from the original chronicle of the supposedly sympathetic Antun Vramec. Even when not following Vramec, as for example when recounting the demands of Imre Thököly, Vitezović did not employ the colourful tone to which he was elsewhere so often given: *Kronika* year 1683.

33. 'Each loves a portion of the reward but no-one loves the labour' and 'They postpone the public good and look to their private business': *Lamentatio Segniae.*

34. Vitezović used the appointment of Nikola Frankopan as ban to reflect:

Thus a good tree does not always bear the same fruit
The noble seed degenerates in native soil
And sons sometimes vander from their father's ways',

Plorantis Croatiae, 1618 p.60,

35. Vitezović wrote:

Once the dress or manner and practice of clothing the body was wont to be diverse among the Illyrians, and varied according to region. It was not as it is now among the men of the present day who imitate the French and Germans and indulge in a luxurious variety beyond the call of old-fashioned propriety or present necessity.

De habitu Illyriorum from *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum,* p.113.

36. Juraj Habdelić's condemnation of luxury and the sabor's sumptuary legislation: Angyal, op.cit., p.164-5. Angyal notes that Habdelić's censure coincided with the arrival of west-European high baroque fashion among the northern Croats.

Compare the words attributed to the rebel leader György Dóza (Juraj Doža) in a speech made to Hungarian peasants in 1514:

The nobles forget that only true courage enobles and constantly demands the service of one's neighbour ... Today the corrupted nobles not only disipate their own property but they steal that of others. They lead an immoral life, they get drunk, they deck themselves out and ape fashions.

Quoted in full by Črnja, op.cit., p.279.

37. Foreigners as the source of moral corruption are a well-developed theme in Roman literature. Cato the censor (234-149. B.C.) sought to reform Roman morals and to opposed the introduction of Greek culture. Following Cato, Juvenal's attack upon the decadent Greeks who corrupted the honest plain-living Romans served as the inspiration and model for many xenophobic attacks upon cultural cosmopolitanism in European literature: see Juvenal, Satire Three.

38. *Odiljenje Sigetska*, preface to the reader: Vončina's edition, p.361.

39. Petar Zoranić, the author of *Planine* (Venice, 1569) complained that the Croatian Muse was impoverished and that those 'wise and learned Croats' who should 'glorify and polish the tongue' are the slaves of vanity and compose in foreign languages: Črnja, op.cit., pp.275-277. Juraj Baraković also complained about foreign affectations in speech. See also Ivan Golub, 'The Slavic idea of Juraj Križanić', Banac and Sysyn, op.cit., p.443.

Laments about the state of the vernacular were a commonplace in the literature of other nations during this period: for the Dutch,

see Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches, p. 58; for the Czechs, see R. J. W. Evans, op. cit., p. 231.*

40. Vitezović wrote:

Abbot Mavro Orbini and Jakov Luccarus, patricians of the city of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) and of the same period, compiled a Slav or Illyrian history in the Italian tongue as if it were unbecoming that Ragusans, truly Illyrians, should speak or write in the idiom of their own people, or else it betrays that they were ignorant of the Latin tongue.

Preface to *Serbia Illustrata.*

Compare the Latin preface to the *Kronika* where Vitezović quoted the verse of Baraković (q.v. Chapter One, note 23, p. 192 above).

41. There is a general discussion of anti-German spirit among the Croats: Šidak, 'Hrvatsko društvo u Križanićevo doba', in Babić ed., op. cit., pp. 33-34. There appear to be two main causes for this hostility towards the Germans:

(i) The inadequacy of the military support give by the Habsburgs to the Croats. This was undoubtedly the mainspring of Nikola and Petar Zrinski's hatred of the Germans, see p. 131 above.

(ii) Protestantism. The Germans appear a rather ill-defined category in the minds of the Croatian moralizers who would besmirch them all with the same vices. The Croats, as the champions of Catholicism, were automatically disposed against the Germans as the originators of the Protestant heresy. One of the most magnificent tirades against the Germans was delivered by that ardent champion of Rome, Juraj Križanić, who first attacked them for their Protestantism before proceeding to the other forms of their decadence:

Seeing as the Germans are heretics, the inventors and forgers of every European heresy, seeing as they are of all nations the most arrogant, the most blasphemous, the most eloquent, and of all are the most given to astronomy, alchemy, physiognomy and all other services of the devil, seeing as they are the most untrustworthy in war, swindlers in trade, most poisonous libellers and slanderers in books, since they outstrip all others in lust, drinking, epicurianism and sybaritism, since they are the most envious and the least hospitable, since they persecute our people with accursed, everlasting and satanic hatred, since they have basely and enviously muddied our honour and name before all other nations, we must break off all associations with the Germans more completely than with any wolf, dragon or devil.

Quoted by Črnja, op.cit., p.341.

For more on Križanić's hatred of the Germans: Ivan Golub, 'The Slavic idea of Juraj Križanić', Banac and Sysyn, op.cit., pp.449-451.

42. Vitezović cited language as a marker of national identity and quoted Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's (Pope Pius II 1405-1464) comments on the use of the *sermo Schlavonicus* among the Carniolans, Carinthians and Istrians: *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, pp.8-10.

Bidermann seized upon as inaccurate Vitezović's observation about the Carinthians holding the induction of the *princeps reipublicae* in the Slavic tongue, remarking drily, 'but it better suited his plan to maintain the opposite': Bidermann, op. cit., p.236.

Vitezović quoted Tomkus Marnjavić's (possibly Ivan Tomko Mrnavić q.v. Chapter One, note 28, p.193 above) observations on the Illyrian origins of the Austrians: *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p.10.

43. *Stemmatographia*, dedication (n.p.) to Julius Friedrich Bucelleni, the Supreme Chancellor of the Court of Austria.

The greed of lawyers was a commonplace already established in the days

of the Roman satirists but it was not necessarily a literary theme devoid of any genuine sentiment: Vitezović had much to say, with real feeling, on the easy gains of lawyers in his defence speech; Klaić, 'Obrana', p. 387.

44. *Defectus scriptorum* was, according to Vitezović, the reason why the list of Croatian kings was incomplete:

> For the 'earthly deeds of the Croats were recorded by none of the Latin writers and but poorly by the Greeks'‡. But the Croats themselves, since they were always so much in arms, were little given to letters, as is apparant from the Contract of Father Gregory, Bishop of Trogir which was concluded with the community of that place in more recent times, namely 1280. Of the eleven canons who came forward to give witness and testimony, four are said to have been subscripted in another's hand because of their ignorance of letters. If this was the way things were in maritime Croatia, in a Dalmatian town of such great culture and inhabited by the Romans and by Ivan Lučić, and among the clergy who gave instruction in the teachings of Holy scripture, what ignorance of Roman letters must have been among the vast ridges of the mountains!
> ‡Ivan Lučić *De Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*, book 2, chapter 1, *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p. 20.

Vitezović returned to the theme, following Cervarius Tubero in discussing the problems which the lack of sources presented for those concerned with Hungarian history: *Natales D. Ladislavi*, pp. 18-19. See also *Origo Slavorum et progressus eorum Imperii* (hereafter, *Origo Slavorum*), in the collection of manuscript transcripts, *Pauli Ritteri Equitis Aurati et Poetae Laureati Opera hactenus Inedita*, N.S.B. R 3449.

45. *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p. 19.

46. Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, pp. 177-178.

47. Vitezović wrote of Lučić:

I can but marvel that our Ivan Lučić should be so weighed down with pure conjectures, unless his works in the new editions were tampered with and they changed the author's meaning after his death.

Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam, p. 16.

Lučić himself was worried by the errors within his published works: Kurelac, 'Prilog Ivana Luciusa-Lučića povijesti rod Zrinskih i njegove veze s banom Petrom Zrinskim', *Zbornik historijskog zavoda J.A.Z.U.*, p. 108.

Later, Vitezović was less prepared to make allowances:

Ivan Lučić, citizen of Trogir, having undertaken the work *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae* confused it with impertinent conjectures and spoilt it with deceptions.

Introduction to *Serbia Illustrata.*

48. *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p. 21.

Vitezović later developed this theme of the Greeks' self-interest:

But since no-one from among the ancients, neither Greek nor Latin, committed to paper before the public the beginnings and progress of your nation, but mentioned in passing when he comes across something pertaining to his [sc, nation's] own greatness, such as wars or marriages entered upon with kings. Nor as would have been fitting, did they have greater regard in the proper sense for noble-mindedness in these matters than for the fickle glory of their princes,..... The Greeks, because of their knowledge of the secrets of the Serbs, were the chief witnesses except some of them, through very great envy and hatred, detracted much from the glory of the victors'.

Introduction to *Serbia Illustrata.*

Throughout *Serbia Illustrata*, Vitezović singled out Joannes Cantacuzenus (Emperor John IV) as a great falsifier.

49. History as a source of moral guidance:

I iplore still again, and beg each one to whom God has gven understanding and a knowlege ofletters, that from now onwards they write about each and everything and happening which took place during their lifetime sp that our people after us should know both that we lived and how we lived, and should know whence their knowledge of living comes and conduct themselves better because really human memory is that for which people are esteemed diferent from and more worthy than other living creatures.

'Introduction to those who would read this book', *Kronika*.

50. *Kronika*, closing lines of the Addendum: quoted in full, Appendix Two.

51. 'But in the people's (*gens*) own speech you glorify Jehovah/ And you enrich the *patria* and are yourself its father': dedication to *Anagrammaton liber tertius*.

52. 'Introduction to those who would read this book', *Kronika*.

53. For Vitezović's attitude to the *plebs* and *mobile vulgus*: Chapter Five, p. 129 and Chapter Five, note 38 below.

Notes
Chapter Four

1. *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p. 15.

2. The *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam* was a *prodromus* or precursor to a larger study which Vitezović intended to publish under the title *Croatia Rediviva*. He had collected much of the material for this intended study in the manuscript *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum*, which he had already begun in the 1680s: Valvasor, *Die Ehre*, vol. 12, pp. 90-91. Vitezović printed appeals for information in connection with *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum* in the *Kronika* and in the separate advertisement *Universis Dalmatiae Croatiae Slavoniae Bossnae Serbiae Rassiae et Coeterorum Gloriosae Slavae sive Illyricae Nationis Regnorum Provinciarumque Megistantibus Paroecis et Nobilibus Incolis &c* of 1696. Unable to finance so large a work, Vitezović prepared separate parts for publication. These parts survive as: *Stemmatographia*; *Vita Martyrium beati Vladimiri Croatiae Regis*; *Natales Divo Ladislavo*; and the manuscripts *Indigetes Illyricani* and *Serbia Illustrata*.

An early sketch of *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum* is included among the *Miscellanea et Fragmenta Autographa* Arh. Jug. Ak. IV.c.3. Further notes are also bound in the manuscript collections: *Opuscula varia ad historiam Illyricam spectantia*, N.S.B. R 3454; *Miscellanea*, N.S.B. R 3451 and the transcript of various of his manuscripts *Pauli Ritteri Equitis Aurati et Poetae Laureati Opera hactenus Inedita &c* N.S.B. R 3449.

Vitezović prepared the manuscript of *Serbia Illustrata* for publication

and in 1711 he approached the Archbishop of Peć, Kristofor Mitrović, for help with the cost of printing. Mitrović could not afford the estimated cost of three hundred florins and he advised Vitezović to reduce the number of engravings. He sent him two measures of coffee before finally recommending that the project be abandoned since the Serbs, to whom the work was most likely to appeal, were notoriously reluctant to purchase books: *Korespondencija Pavla Rittera Vitezovića (1702-1712)*, N.S.B. R3953; Klaić, *Život i Djela*, pp.273-275.

3. Vitezović's use of the Latin adjective *illyricum* and the Croatian *illirski*: letters written between 1676-1677, *Epistolarum Metricarum* and quoted by Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p.15, p.22, p.33; of Ricciardi's linguistic accomplishments, 'You have learnt to write the characters of the Persian tongue as well as those of the Illyrian', *Novus Skenderbeg*, lines 98-99.

In dictionaries of the period *illyricus* is commonly given as the Latin for *horvat* (Croat): Vitezović quoted from Micaglia's *Blago Jezika Slovinskoga illi Slovnik u komu iz govorajuse rjeci Slovinske Latinski i Diacki*, see *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p.16. Valvasor wrote of Vitezović's writings '*in der Crabatischer Sprache*' and '*in der Illyrischer Sprache*': *Die Ehre*, vol.12, p.91.

4. Pribojević's theories of the spread of the Slav world: Lauer, op.cit., pp.118-119. According to Juraj Rattkay, Japhet, son of Noah, led his Slav-speaking sons to Scandinavia whence, in time, they spread to Sarmatia, Poland, Russia, Lithuania, Moscow, Prussia, Pomerania,

Wallachia, western Tartary and that part of Tanais 'by which Asia is separated from Europe' and finally to the Adriatic: Rattkay, op.cit., pp.1-3. Franjo Glavinić gave a similar account.

The basis for all these lineages was the Book of Genesis, Chapter 9, verse 19. 'these were the sons of Noah and their descendants spread over the whole earth' and ibidem Chapter 10, verse 32: 'these were the families of the sons of Noah according to their genealogies nation by nation and from them came the separate nations on earth after the flood'.

The Slav nations were not alone in tracing their ancestry to the sons of Noah: in France, the Merovigians and Caroligians claimed descent from the sons of Japhet, see Anthony Smith, op.cit., p.59.

5. *Origo Slavorum et Progressus eorum Imperii* is by the author's own admission, highly derivative; it is probably a transcript by Vitezović of another author's work. Among the sources cited in the manuscript are 'The sacred letters of the Old Testament', Saint Augustine, Petar Crusber Hollandus and Alexander Gaugoinus.

Parts of the 'sons of Noah myth' appear in *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum* under the entry for Japides Vitezović noted that according to Schönleben they were named after Japhet, the grandson of Deucalon, the Noah-like survivor of the great flood in classical mythology, *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum*, p.40.

In the *Kronika* the entry for 1658 B.C. reads;

> Sem, son of Noah, fathered Arfaxada from whom the Arabs and Chaldeans come, Assur was named after him and from him the Assyrians take their name, Elam was born of Sem, from him the Elamite take their nam, Kam, son of Noah, fathered Kusa, from whom the Egyptians come, Japhet fathered Gomer from whom the Latini came and he also fathered Magog from whom came the Scythians and Hungarians, He also fathered Mosa from whom the Amazoni, Moscovites and the rest of the Slav nation come.

6. Mavro Orbini referred to the three brothers as Croats in *Il regni de gli Slavi*, p. 47. The earliest mention of Krapina in connection with the brothers was made by the Bohemian chronicler Václav Hájek of Libočan, 1541. Juraj Rattkay followed the *Annales Bohemorum* of Ablavius and seems to have been the first Croatian writer to claim that the brothers departed from Krapina: Rattkay, op. cit., p. 23.

The story exists in many versions. For an instance of the myth's adaptability, see how the Polish writer Stanislaw Orzechowski (1513-1566) in the *Annales Gdansk* of 1643 attached the story of Čeh, Leh and Rus to that of Alexander the Great's bequest of land to the Slavs: Otakar Odložilik, 'The privilege of Alexander the Great for the Slavs', *Folia Diplomatica I*, p. 245.

Despalatović traces the development of the Čeh, Leh and Rus myth from the thirteenth century; Despalatović, op. cit., p. 35 ff. There is a full study of the origins and development of the legend by Ferdo Šišić: 'Ideja slovenske pradomovine u Podunavlju; biologija priče o Čehu, Lehu i Mahu', *Godišnjica Nikole Čupića*, no. 35, Belgrade 1923, pp. 33-49.

For the performace of the Krapina brothers' story by students at the Zagreb grammar school: Vanino, op. cit. vol. 1, pp. 266-7.

7. Pribojević included old and new place names in his list of the descendants of Thyras: for example Vandalia, Pannonia, Carnolia, Hystria, Dardania as well as Ruscia, Cassubia, Pruscia, Masovia, Moscovia, Polonia, Silesia, Moravia, Bohemia, Croatia, Bosna, Rascia, Servia and Bulgaria: Pribojević, *De origine successibusque Slavorum*, in the Gortan edition, p. 62.

8. Juraj Križanić made his appeal to the Russian Czar with the hope that their common Slav brotherhood would persuade him to assist the South Slavs. For theories connecting the development of Illyrian-Slav mythology with the Croats' strained circumstances: Lauer, op.cit. p.119; Banac, 'The redivived Croatia of Pavao Ritter Vitezović', Banac and Sysyn, op.cit., p.493.

9. Vitezović invented several of the coats-of arms, others he adapted from Mavro Orbini and copies of the armorials dated c.1614 of Petar Ohumučević. There is a manuscript version of the *Stemmatographia* entitled *Regnorum et Provinciarum Illyricorum insignia genuina* among the Marsigli archive at the Bologna library. Ivo Banac discusses Vitezović's *Stemmatographia* and its origins in the forthcoming article, 'The insignia of identity: heraldry and the growth of national ideologies among the South Slavs'.

10. Djuro Dalmatin (c.1547-1589) had propounded the idea of a general Slav language in 1584. In the German preface to his Slovene translation of the Bible published at Wittenberg, he wrote that the *windische sprach* (sic) was used not only in Carniola, Carinthia and Styria but also in Croatia, Dalamtia and the Windischmark, Karst, Metling and Istria and among the Bohemians, Poles, Moscovites, Russians, Bosnians and Vlachs. He also noted that it was used at the Turkish court and throughout Turkey as '*ein hauptsprach*', official language. This latter point is also made by Vitezović following almost verbatim Jan Václav Rosa (q.v. note 11, p.235 below).

Pope Urban VIII had noted in 1627 that the people of the Illyrian language inhabited the greater part of Europe and the greatest part of Asia.

For a history of the idea of a single Slav language: Ferdo Šišić, 'Hrvatska historiografija', vol. 1, pp. 39-41.

11. Jan Václav Rosa (1620-1689) in the fifth point of the *Praefatio de Lingua Boemica ad Lectorem* wrote:

The Bohemian language should be learnt not only because of its elegance, its vigour and its naturalness of expression, but also because it is universal and clearly has much in common with the languages of innumerable other provinces and assists greatly in both the learning and articulation of other foreign languages, especially French so that a Bohemian is able to speak all the languages of the whole world well and to prononuce them perfectly..... Some indeed are wont to say, what use have I with the Bohemian language? I am not going to tarry in Bohemia. If such a one wishes to remain at home and does not direct his mind to seeing the world, then there is no reason that he should tax his intellectual faculties. But if any generosity of mind resides within him, and if his aspirations should lie in the direction of the Court, public office or the ordering of public affairs, such a one as this has need to learn European languages. For you do not know whether today, or tommorow, or be it whenever, you might be able to participate in some business or commission or legation in those regions where our language is used to communicate. For the Slav language spreads through.....

Rosa, *Čzechořečnost, seu Grammatica linguae Bohemicae*, preface (n.p.)

The remainder of Rosa's passage is quoted by Vitezović with a few, as it would seem, accidental om issions.

Vjekoslav Klaić wrote of Vitezović's noble intentions:

Just as we read some Illyrian novice from the first half of the nineteenth century who wants to rescue from lethargy his moribund contemporaries by demonstrating the mighty Slav world,

Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p. 111.

12. For around 550 A.D. (Georgius Bertoldus Pontanus *Bohemia Pia* writes 645 A.D.) the Illyrian peoples of Croatia with the brothers Čeh, Leh and Rus, who were dukes from Croatia Interamnia, set out from their lofty seat, the citadel of Krapina, and in the regions north of the Danube, established three flourishing kingdoms with their cognomens, namely the Czechs or Bohemians, the Lehi otherwise the Poles and the Russians.

Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam, p. 10.

Vitezović gave another account of the story based upon the version in the *Compendium Chronicorum Polonorum* of Alexander Guagnius in the *Natales Divo Ladislavo*, p. 26. He quoted lines from Juraj Szakmardy (György Szakhmáry) referring to the founding of Poland and Bohemia in the *Banalogia*, Chapter Six, *De Banorum Potestate*.

He referred to the founding of Russia by *Russus*, brother of Ceh and Leh, *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum*, p. 231; and to the founding of Poland by Leh, *Stemmatographia*, p. 34.

His notebooks show that he knew the version of Johannes Longinus who made Ceh and Leh the sons of Janus the grandson of Japhet: *Fragmenta Historica et extractus auctorum rerum Illyricarum*, N.S.B. R 3459.

13. Vitezović's paen *Ad natale solum Divi Regis: Natales Divo Ladislavo*, pp. 48-49.

The initial letter of each line forms an acrostic spelling *Eques Paulus Ritter Dicebat.*

14. *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p. 1

15. *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, pp. 1-5.

In the case of the Serbs, Vitezović devoted the first three chapters of the first book of *Serbia Illustrata* to the Serbs' name, discussing the false derivation from *servus*, its vernacular form and evidence that the Serbs were also known as Abares.

16. Thomas the Archdeacon of Split included in the *Historia*

Salonitana a description of the Curetes or Corybantes in an aside within his account of the destruction of Split by Totila the leader of the Goths who came from Poland to settle in Croatia. He noted that 'in the more distant past, this region was called Curetia and the people who are now called Croats were called Curetes or Coribantes'. The relevant passage is quoted at length by Vitezović: *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p.4.

The Corybantes were priests of Cybele 'whose religious service', consisted in noisy music and wild armed dances', details which are picked up in Thomas the Archdeacon's account. The Curetes were the ancient inhabitants of Crete and became identified with the Corybantes: see *Curetes* in Lewis and Short, op.cit.

17. Vitezović's discussion of Thomas the Archdeacon and the Corybantes/Curetes: *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, pp.3-5.

The letters *B* and *V* are interchangeable, as he himself noted, ibidem, p.2. This change made possible the derivation of the Croats' name from that of the Corybantes. Vitezović wrote:

> And indeed the name of the Corybantes differs only in respect of a slight change of the letters from the name of the *Crovati* who call themselves, as we say, *Hrvati* and others *Horvati*, and are called by the Greeks *Chrobati*, the Germans *Korbati*, the Latins *Croatae*, *Crovates* and *Chrobates*.
>
> *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p.5.

18. Constantine Porphyrogenitus wrote of the theme of Dalmatia:

> But the Croats at that time lived on the far side of the Bagibareia, where the Belochrobati now are. From them there broke away one family, γενος, that is to say five brothers Kloukas, Lobelos, Kosentzas, Mouchlo and Chrobatos, and two sisters Touga and Bouga, who came with their people (λαος) into Dalmatia and they found the Abares in possession of that land. After waging war against each other for some years, the Chrobati prevailed and killed some of the Abares and forced the others to submit to them.
> *De Administrando Imperio*, Chapter Thirty.

Ivan Lučić quoted this passage, 'About the Croats and their baptism', and used it to conclude that the Croats had arrived in Dalmatia from beyond the Bablje gore, the Carpathians, called the Bagibareia by Constantine Porpyrogenitus: Lučić, *De Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*, Chapter Eleven.

19. Vitezović quoted this story from Constantine Porphyrogenitus, via the works of Ivan Lučić: *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p.2. The *Kronika* entry for 640 A.D. contains another version taken from the chronicle of Antun Vramec which is remarkably similar to Porphyrogenitus' account. Vitezović referred to the legend again in his introduction to the *Chronologia Banorum* in the *Banalogia* where he attributed the founding of the office of Croatian ban to the five brothers.

20. Ivo Banac, 'The Redivived Croatia of Pavao Ritter Vitezović', Banac and Sysyn, op.cit., p.500.

21. Apparently working from Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, Chapter Twenty-nine, Vitezović wrote:

> From which it can be deduced that Crobat, Serb and Zachul were the brothers or relatives and princes of their nation from whom the regions took their names, once they were in their [sc. brothers'] possession; Crobatus restored the name of the Curetes and the ancient Corybantes. In the same way the three brothers Ceh, Leh and Rus, the sons of King Svevladus, gave their names to the northern regions as a consequence of their migrations.

Regia Illyriorum, p.96.

22. Anthony Smith, op.cit., p.28.

23. Vitezović mentioned the origins of the names Krbava and Croatia: the emotive dedication (n.p.) to *Plorantis Croatiae*; introduction to the second part, *Plorantis Croatiae*, p.52; *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum*, p.187.

24. The confirmation of the rights of the South Slavs to their territory was an important function of Illyrian mythology, frequently demonstrated by the story of Alexander the Great's bequest to the Slavs: Odložilik, op.cit., pp.239-251.

The bequest of Alexander the Great was one of the main myths within the core mythology but one which Vitezović appears to have discounted. He would have read the story in Rosa's *Čzechořečnost* and he quoted the lines of Szakmardy on Alexander: *Banalogia*, Chapter Six.

25. Hesiod's *Works and Days*, Virgil's *Georgics* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* are the main inspiration for the arcadias and golden ages of European literature and art. Vitezović should be seen as participating in the great seventeenth-century revival of this theme, reflected in the idealized landscapes of Poussin (1593/4-1665) and Claude (1600-1682).

26. *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum*, p.98.

27. Vitezović divided *Croatia Alba* into three districts: see *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p.32; also *Regia Illyriorum*.

The division into *Croatia Alba* and *Croatia Rubea* is discussed in detail in Chapter Six below.

28. Themes from the arcadias of classical literature have been adapted through the centuries to satisfy the requirement of successive generations. While the central idea remains the same, literary motifs are adapted to particular circumstances: with the return of the Golden Age, according to Virgil, sheep will grow fleeces which are already coloured so that dyeing is unnecessary (Virgil, *Eclogue IV*); in the twentieth century Mr Biswas' nephew fresh returned to Trinidad from Cambridge and inspired by Soviet propaganda tells his relatives how red, blue, green and white cotton grew in the Soviet Union (V.S. Naipaul, *A House for Mr Biswas*, (London, 1961) p. 542).

29. Vitezović planned to devote sections of *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum* to the Illyrians' customs, clothes, hardiness, weapons, gods, rituals, ancient kings, early cities and Roman emperors (including a section proving that the Emperor Justinian was an Illyrian), saints, the chastity and strength of Illyrian women and their funeral customs: Table of contents, *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum*, Part One, Book Two, p. 98.

30. The colour code for Illyrian virtues: *Stemmatographia*, pp. 57-58. The later 'career' of the *Stemmatographia* illustrates the adaptability of Illyrian-Slav motifs. Vitezović's original work of 1701 was copied and translated by Hristofor Žefarović, an artist and scholar of mixed Serbian and Bulgarian origin who worked under the patronage of the Patriarch Arsenije IV Jovanović Šakabenta. Žefarović added portraits of Stefan Dušan and of various Orthodox saints, most Serbian, but several Bulgarian and Albanian, thus imparting a Serbian and Orthodox character

to Vitezović's original. In this way, the *Stemmatographia* came to be a source for the iconography of the Orthodox South Slavs and fostered the Serbs' consciousness of their statehood.

That the 1741 Serbianized edition of the *Stemmatographia* found its way into many north-Croatian libraries reflects the absence of politcal rivalry between the Croats and Slavs at this time: see the library inventories listed in the Select Bibliography.

31. The coat-of arms of Illyria, *Stemmatographia*, p. 1 (plate 3, p. 305). The title of Ivan Čikulin's work was *Idea Magnanimitatis Illyricae et Pannonicae Viginti Quator.*

32. *Illyricorum virtus bellica*: Juraj Rattkay, op. cit., p. 244; Vitezović, *de feritate et saevitita*, *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum*, p. 81; also, De Armis Illyriorum, ibidem, p. 79.

Vitezović recounted the three necessary conditions of human life supposedly recognized by Noah: *Origo Slavorum et progressus eorum imperii.*

33. One section of *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum* was entitled *De Viris militaris praestantibus*. Vitezović gave an account of Nikola Šubić Zrinski and the aftermath of the siege of Siget in *Odiljenje Sigetska*. Nikola Šubić Zrinski became an international hero, being celebrated in the literatures of other European nations.

34. Vitezović identified many of the Illyrians' gods with members of the Greek and Roman pantheon: *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum*, p.74. He made notes from Longinus on the names of the Polish pagan gods and their equivalents: *Fragmenta historica et extractus auctorum rerum Illyricarum* N.S.B. R3459.

35. Vitezović notes that it was was the geographer Strabo (64 B.C.-19 A.D.) who observed that the Illyrians did not use money: *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum*, p.100.
It is a characteristic of golden ages that they are supposed pre-monetary: for example, Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book One, lines 139 ff.

36. Saint Paul had sent Titus and later Saint Peter sent Domnius to convert the Dalmatians: *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum*, p.54.
The *Indigetes Illyricani* included such unlikely Illyrians as Saint Francis who qualified on the grounds that he had once been blown off course onto 'Illyrian soil': *Indigetes Illyricani*, October 4th.
The lives and deaths of the victims of Roman persecution recounted in *Indigetes Illyricani*: SS. Claudius, Maximus and fellow martyrs, February 18; St Gabinus, February 19; St Syrenus, monk and martyr, February 23; St Hadrian, March 4; Saint Alexander, March 27; the seven virgin martyrs of Srijem, April 9; *et passim*

37. The martyrs of Remete are the subject of a painting by the eighteenth century artist Gabrijel Taller in the Franciscan friary at Cernik. The martyred monks, who met their brutal ends in 1596, all carry green palms,

the traditional emblem of martyrs reproduced in colour, Cvitanović, op. cit., p. 410.

The theme of the Turks as the makers of martyrs was translated to the context of the Crucifixion in the wooden Calvary in the Franciscan church at Karlovac where the soldiers standing on guard and casting dice are unmistakeably Turks, not Romans.

The Croatian ban Petar Berislav (1450–1520) achieved the status of a Christian martyr after his death by stoning at the hands of the Turks: 'Now a martyr he bears the green palm in the heavens above', *Florentis Croatiae*, 1520, p. 6.

38. Saint Vladimir addresses his companions:

> I must, dearest brothers, for so I see you,, fulfill the words of the Evangelist; the good pastor lays down his life for his sheep. Therefore it is better, brothers, that I lay down my life for you all and of my own volition hand over my body to be slaughtered that that you should be exposed to the dangers of hunger or the sword.
>
> *Vita et Martyrium Beati Vladimiri Croatiae Regis*, p. 5

There is a parallel between Vladimir's desperate situation beset by the Bulgarian King Samuel and his hordes and the position of Nikola Šubić Zrinski trapped in Siget by the forces of the Turkish Sultan. Milivoj Šrepel explains the lasting power of the hero of Siget in the following manner:

> The heroism of Nikola Šubić Zrinski and his comrades at Siget sparkles like a star over Croatian high poetry. This choice [sc. of hero], it seems to me, is not accidental but it is necessary to look for its deeper source; clearly this heroic act best accords with the artistic ideal of the Croatian nation which is hidden in our national soul.
>
> Šrepel, op. cit., p. 81.

Similar self-sacrifice is clearly implied in the words of Adam Balthasar Kerčelić, where he remarked on his own presumption in following Vitezović 'whom the passion for illustrating his fatherland cast headlong into the greatest wretchedness and deprived of all his worldly goods': Preface (n.p.) to *De Regnis Dalmatiae Croatiae Sclavoniae Notitiae Praeliminares*.

39. The Serbs of *Serbia Illustrata* were much closer to the Illyrian ideal with their modest way of life, their cultivation of the arts of war and piety, their only vice being *inertia*. They had also taken heed of their own national culture. Vitezović remarked that they 'cherish their idiom, like the lands which they cultivate, unaltered and uncorrupted': *Serbia Illustrata*, Chapter Thirteen.

40. The quotation is from Vitezović's English contemporary, the poet John Dryden (1631-1700): Dryden's preface to his translation of the *Aeneid*, 1697.

Notes

Chapter Five

1. Frontispiece to *Nova Musa*, see plate 1, p. 9 above.

2. *Banalogia*, Chapter Three, *De Banali Autoritate*.

3. The Croatian élite's belief that their statehood was embodied in the laws and privileges of the Kingdom is reflected in the reverence with which Ivan Zakmardi (c. 1600-1667), the protonotar of the Kingdom, gathered together the written laws and privileges and in 1643 placed them in the Zagreb chapter in a specially commissioned chest, the *Ciste privilegiorum Regni*; a Croatian ark of the covenant.

For a recent discussion of the *kuruc* movements of the 1670s: László Benczédi, 'Hungarian national consciousness reflected in the anti-Habsburg and anti-Ottoman struggles of the late seventeenth century', in Banac and Sysyn, op. cit., p. 424-437. Benczédi writes, 'In defence of the Hungarian constitution, which the Habsburgs had sentenced to abrogation, the rebels advocated the re-establishment of the 'old laws' and 'old privileges' granted by 'the holy kings of old' and the 'old customs' in general': Benczédi, ibidem, p. 429.

4. In the *Lamentatio Segniae*, Senj complains that the officers of the Inner Austrian War Council act contrary to the diplomas granted by Ferdinand I and Rudolph II.

5. Early written sources for the Kingdom of Croatia are discussed by Črnja, op.cit., Chapter Five, p.78 ff. and also by Eduard Hercigonja, 'Tropismena i trojezična kultura hrvatskog srednjovjekovlja', Josip Bratulić ed., *Pisana Riječ u Hrvatskoj*, p.39 ff. The earliest inscriptions carved in stone, for example the baptismal font of knez Višeslav, c.800 in the Jugoslav Academy at Zagreb, have now become an important part of Croatian national iconography.

6. The final section of the *Banalogia*, the *Chronologia Banorum sive Ducum Croatiae*, refers to Clucas, Lobelus, Cossentici, Muchlo and Chrobatus as the first Croatian *duces* and therefore, by implication, the first bans.

7. 'Ostrivoj, prince of the Slavs, the continuous line of Croatian kings after him can be read in the Priest of Dioclea, Orbini, Marulić and Freschotti', *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p.9; also *Regia Illyriorum*, p.14.

Vitezović wrote:

> The line of the ancient kings of Illyricum is broken because foreign historians of that period mentioned them only briefly and contentiously and our own native historians made no mention at all...; of the more recent kings, we shall furnish a complete list from Ostrivoj at an appropriate place.
>
> *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum*, p.46

8. At the back of the calendar for 1699, *Zaroast Hervacki*, Vitezović gave an account of the the *Red i Verszta kralyev hervatczkih, Pocsami od Osztrivoja* (The order and rank of Croatian kings beginning with Ostrivoj).

The *Kronika* contains many references to the Croatian kings and bans: for example years A.D. 746, 756, 829, 990.

The Croats' use of their unbroken line of kings to assert their continuing statehood compares with that of the Scots, another small nation confronting the linking of its crown to that of another kingdom:; compare for example the portraits of all the Scottish kings painted in 1671 by the Flemish artist De Wet in the Long Gallery of Holyrood House, Edinburgh.

9. *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p. 17.

10. Vitezović gave the meaning of various kings' names in *Regia Illyriorum* p. 14 and in the *Zaroast Hervacki 1699.*

11. *Plorantis Croatiae* Aurana 1537, p. 13; Novi 1688, p. 77; the Zrinski fields 1540, p. 14.

12. The whole import of *Natales Divo Ladislavo* is to claim St Ladislav as a Croat rather than a Hungarian. Vitezović established to his own satisfaction that Ladislav was born at Gorica. When the Turks devastate the surrounding countryside, due mention is made of the potent associations of Gorica in *Plorantis Croatiae* 1530 p. 12.

Set in the context of Vitezović's fears for the integrity of the Croats' national culture, *Natales Divo Ladislavo* should be seen as an attempt to counter the blurring of distinctions between what was Hungarian and Croatian. St Ladislav already had particular

significance for the Croats since he was believed to have founded the cathedral at Zagreb in order to stamp out the worship of Lado, the pagan god whose name provided the first syllable of his own: see Vitezović, *Natales Divo Ladislavo*, p.43; *De Zagrabiensi Episcopatu* in *Opuscula varia ad historiam illyricam spectantia*. The flowering of the cult of St Ladislav among the Croats in the second half of the seventeenth century was generated by cultural influences spreading from Hungary where the cult was already well established.

Juraj Rattkay delivered a sermon on St Ladislav at Vienna: *Panegyris Divo Ladislao Hungariae Regi Inclytae Nationis Hungaricae, in Celeberrima et Antiquissima Universitate Viennensi Patrono tutelari in Basilica Divi Stephani Protomartyris declamata 1641*, included in *Memoria Regum et Banorum regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Sclavoniae*.

For examples of the cult in religious art in Croatia, see the illustrations in Zdenka Munk, *Riznica Zagrebačke Katedrale*: the altar of SS. Mary and Ladislav by I. Komersteiner executed 1686-1690, p.50; altar painting by Bernard Bobić c.1690 showing St Ladislav inspecting plans for the Zagreb cathedral and contemplating the coats-of-arms of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, p.51; marble statues of SS. Stephen and Ladislav, seventeenth century Croatian workmanship, p.53.

For the cult of Saint Ladislav among the Hungarians: Evans, op.cit., p.256.

13. *Florentis Croatiae* Derencsényi, p.2; Berislav, 1520, p.6 and 1530, p.12 when the family castle at Doboj is occupied by the Turks;

ban Nikola Zrinski 1566 p. 26. See also the death from natural causes of ban Petar Erdődy 1567, ibidem p. 27 and ban Franjo Batthyány, from fever, in 1531, p. 11 (date incorrect; Batthyány died in 1533).

14. Compare the accounts of Mohács and Siget in *Plorantis Croatiae*, p. 9 and p. 26 respectively and in the *Kronika*, years 1526 and 1566.

15. Vitezović stated his intentions in the introduction to *Banalogia* where he claimed to be taking up the challenge from Rattkay and from Franjo Ladani. For Ladani's study of the bans: Johann Christian Engel, *Geschichte des ungarischen Reiches und seiner Nebenländer*, vol. 2, p. 146.

16. *Grates pro gratis* is part of *Nova Musa* anthology.

17. Vitezović explained the origins of the *Banalogia* in a letter to the Bishop of Zagreb, Emerik Esterházy, dated 5 November 1710, *Miscellanea* R 3451 p. 36; also Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p. 36.

18. This episode is discussed by M. Kruhek in 'Stvaranje i utvrjivanje granice na Kupi u xvi i xvii st.' in Pavličević, op. cit., p. 254. See also Josip Buturac et alt., eds, *Zaključci Hrvatskoga Sabora* for the year 1693.

19. Vitezović was sufficiently well known to the Erdődy family for ban Nikola's widow to place him in charge of the hatchments at the

official funeral: Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p. 85.

20. *Plorantis Croatiae*, appointment of Báttyány, year 1693 p. 80.

21. See Vitezović's letter to Juraj Plemić, 3rd January 1711, and *Miscellanea* N.S.B. R 3451 and also his letter to Emerik Esterházy, then bishop of Zagreb, dated 7th January 1711, *Epistolae Missiles Originales ad Episcopos*. Vitezović had such faith in the value of the *Banalogia* and the *Tractatus* for the Kingdom of Croatia that he used the works to appeal to the patriotism of Plemić and Esterházy. He tried to persuade them to intervene on his behalf in the matter of the money which the sabor owed him for operating the printing-press by promising that he would use the money to publish these works: Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p. 264.

Although the *Tractatus* is lost, parts of it survive since Adam Baltazar Krčelić quoted extensively from it in *De Regnis Dalmatiae Croatiae Sclavoniae Notitiae Praeliminares*.

22. Vitezović's notes *Protestatio Georg. Ratkay* [sic] *in eos qui regna Illyrici Hungariae subjecta putant* in *Miscellanea*.

23. Banalogia, Chapter Two, *De Banali Dignitate*.

24. *Banalogia*, Chapter Two, *De Banali Dignitate*.

25. *Banalogia*, Chapter Five, *De Titulo Bano*.

26. *Banalogia*, Chapter Seven, *De Banali Proventu* (income), Chapter Eight, *De Banali Moneta*, Chapter Nine, *De Banali Residentia*.

27. *Banalogia*, Chapter Two, *De Banali Dignitate*.

28. The *privilegium* granted to Trogir, see *Banalogia*, Chapter Two, *De Banali Dignitate*, quoted by Lučić, *Delle Memorie di Tragurio ora dello Trau*, p. 279. Of the Hungarian kings' bearing towards the office of ban, Vitezović wrote:

> It did not suit King Kálmán, the first Hungarian king to hold the Kingdom of Croatia, to show himself to be in every respect fierce or a tyrant so as to take away the ancient right and liberty of the leading men and dukes [sc. of Croatia]. Nor did the successors of Kálmán, by far more benign in spirit, make an assault upon them.

Banalogia, Chapter Eight, De Banali Moneta.

29. *Banalogia*, Chapter Two, *De Banali Dignitate*.

30. *Banalogia*, Chapter Four, *De Banali Prae-eminentia*.

31. See, for example, the collection of verses which Vitezović composed during his 'exile' at Vienna, *Otia Metrica 1710-1711* which included anagrams to the Emperor Joseph (nos 1 and 68) and to the Archduke Charles (no 13) and also to the latter, once Emperor, *Genitlcon sive Fatum et Votum ex Nominibus deducutum*, a printed pamphlet dated 27th March 1712 and bound in the same volume. Vitezović also composed anagrams for the Archduchess Maria Elizabeth (no. 31) and the Empress Eleonore

Magdalena (no 66). The second part of the collection contains more anagrams to the Emperor Joseph (no. 90) and Charles elaborately styled as the Emperor of Spain and the Indies (nos 10, 12, and 20). He marked the death of the Emperor Joseph with the laments *Ungaria Pullata ad manes Josephi I Regis sui occinens* (hereafter, *Ungaria Pullata*) and *Austria Pullata ad manes Josephi I* (hereafter, *Austria Pullata*).

32. *Ungaria Pullata*, p. 5.

33. *Clementia* as merciful forebearance and its relation to *pietas* are explicit in Vitezović's lines on the late Emperor Ferdinand III: 'Whosover abounds in *pietas* is softened by prayers/ And the best prince is the one who is sparing (*parcus poenae*)', *Plorantis Croatiae*, 1657 p. 67.

De Clementia, presented by Seneca to Nero at the beginning of his reign, was a text highly prized by the neo-stoics.

34. Oh Love! Oh Piety, rare virtue in a prince,
Truly worthy in an August Father of the Fatherland,
Piety is to be praised, virtue rare in a prince
Such a one, Care for the people, like Piety befits,
How unhappy is the kingdom lacking both, under a king without Piety
Oh unhappy land which the sun does not gaze on!
Consider a kingdom bereft of its king, bereft of the sun!
Ungaria Pullata, p. 5.

In similar vein, Vitezović wrote of the coronation of the Archduke Joseph as King of Hungary, 'For not on account of good laws can

kingdoms be said to be fortunate/ If they are not provided beforehand with a good prince'; *Plorantis Croatiae*, 1687, p.77.

The *Pietas Austriaca* was part of the imperial cult of the Habsburgs. Vitezović cited 'singular piety towards God' as a characteristic of Austria in the *Stemmatographia*, p.60. *Virtutes Coronatae sive XIV Heroes a Divo Carolo VI Romanorum Imperatore, Hispaniae Rege, Aureo Vellere Coronati Viennae Austriae die 29. Martii Parnassi Applausu celebrati* (hereafter, *Virtutes Coronatae XIV*) begins with a florid account from the god Mercury of Easter celebrations under the Emperor Charles VI. Mercury, much impressed exclaims:

> I saw the son [i.e. Charles] to be little different from his divine parent [i.e. Leopold I] in the worship of the gods and the rites and observances at the altar..... Thus is *pietas* innate to the Austrian monarchs'.

Virtutes Coronatae XIV and *Virtutes Coronatae sive VIII Heroes Vellere Aureo Decorati ad Parnasi Applausum Lecti* are collections of eulogies which Vitezović, desperately searching for patronage during his Vienna exile, composed in honour of the recipients of the Order of the Golden Fleece.

35. *Plorantis Croatiae*, 1645 p.63.

36. 'Divine benevolence grants royal crowns', *Plorantis Croatiae*, 1605 p.56; ibidem, 1575 p.31.

37 *Plorantis Croatiae*, 1575 p. 31.

Juraj Habdelić likewise condemned Gubec. For Gubec: Črnja, 'Rex

Rusticorum', Chapter Twelve, op.cit., pp.279-286. Gubec and other peasant rebels in Hungarian and Croatian literature of the sixteenth century: Birnbaum, op.cit., pp.17-41.

38. Vitezović characterized the *plebs* as fickle and easily won over to rebellion: for example *Plorantis Croatiae*, 1694 p.81. and the accounts of Thököly and Gubec, cited in notes 37 above and 42 below.

The quotation from the letter of Stephan, the king of Bosnia, to the Pope in *Bosna Captiva* is particularly revealing of Vitezović's attitude:

> The Turks now are building several castles in my district and they flatter the *plebs* and show themselves to be gracious and benign. They promise great immunities and freedoms if they cross over to their side. The minds of the rustics are humble and they do not penetrate the art and fraud of the Turks, believing that the freedom which has been promised to them would last forever. Therefore the rude *plebs* enticed by promises of this kind, readily revolt against me.
>
> *Bosna Captiva.*

39. Vitezović's association of Hungary with rebellion is clearest in his treatment of Thököly, *Dux Ungaricae plebis*, *Plorantis Croatiae*, 1681 p.76. This same attitude is apparent in the verses which he composed at the time of the rebellion, c.1684: *Coniunctio magna terrestris sive foedus impium Galli, Turcae et Hungari* and *In partam sub Vienna victoriam*, quoted by Snopek, 'Drei Gedichte deg Paul Ritter Vitezović', *Archiv für slavische Philologie* vol.31, pp.630-631.

40. *Plorantis Croatiae*, 1670 p.73 and *Kronika* year 1671.

Ivo Banac interprets the *Kronika* entry quite differently, taking the

absence of any 'hint of approval for the Habsburgs' retribution' as tacit sympathy for the magnate conspirators: 'The redivived Croatia of Pavao Ritter Vitezović', Banac and Sysyn, op. cit., p. 495.

Vitezović in fact used the formula which he employed for most decapitations. One exception is his emotive entry in the *Kronika* for 1649 and the execution of the English king Charles I at the hands of a *kervnik*, butcher.

41. Senj is similarly uneasy in peacetime. The town complains that its weapons lie idle, thirsting for blood and it rails against inaction since 'Death waits me in peace, salvation is in the sword': *Lamentatio Segniae.*

42. *Plorantis Croatiae*, 1670 p. 73.

The passage ends with the observation that 'Woman conquers man with crooked counsel': ibidem, p. 74. Compare the maxims in the *Pričesnik*, pp. 13–15.

43. Imre Thököly; *Plorantis Croatiae*, 1681 p. 76 ff.

44. Ferdo Šišić, 'Hrvatska historiografija', vol. 1, p. 444.

45. Hungary describes how the Turks took arms against her:

That I might see Hungary, all in ruins,
Suffer a fate equal to that of the fall of Troy
But your clement Piety, o King greatest of kings
Burns for your kingdoms and your love cares for them
And with watchful zeal snatches from the midst of flames

Your Hungary, so often overwhelmed,
Aeneas you far surpass in your Piety,
You have often carried your servant
He but once bore his father,

Grates pro gratis.

46. *Ad Mappam Hungariae a R.D. George Matthia Fischer delineatam, et Serenissimo Archduci Austriae Leopoldo Caesaris filio dedicatam*, no. 47, *Otia Metrica 1682.*

47. The elegy to Marsigli is included in *Florantis Croatiae*, pp. 91-92, and is quoted in full by Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p. 139. For the full force of *scelus* as a term of moral disapprobation and implying unnatural vice: Lewis and Short, op. cit.

48. *Regni Croatiae felicitas*: Vanino, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 267.

Notes

Chapter Six

1. *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, second statement, p.1.

2. *Banalogia*, Chapter Ten, *De Banatus Amplitudine et Divisione*, opening statement.

3. Vitezović uses the term *tota Croatia* throughout *Regia Illyriorum* and the *Banalogia* and in *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*. For the main discussion of this term, see page 149 above and notes 20 and 42 below.

4. Klaić quotes the relevent clause from the agreement with Venice: Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p.146.

5. Djordje Branković (1645-1711), the so-called despot of Illyricum, claimed to be the legitimate heir of the last Serb despots and aspired to be ruler of a state separate from the Habsburg empire and based on the mediaeval Kingdom of Serbia. He ended his days as a prisoner of the Emperor at Cheb in modern Czechoslovakia: Radovan Samardžić, 'Count Djordje Branković's political and historical impact on the Serbs', Banac and Sysyn, op.cit., pp.508-523; also *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, vol.2, pp.179-180.

6. Raffaella Gherardi discusses in detail the workings of the mercantilist party at the Viennese court and Marsigli's position within it as the

protégé of the Bohemian Chancellor Kinský: Gherardi, op. cit., pp. 315-334. As well as the economic importance of the Danube region for the Habsburgs, Marsigli also drew attention to the strategic importance of a strong Habsburg presence in the area for shattering 'the insolent nature of the magnates': Gherardi, op. cit., pp. 322-324. For Marsigli, see Chapter Two p. 40 and note 7, p. 198 above.

7. Letter to Stjepan Šelišćević, Ljubljana 20 December 1695, *Epistolae Missiles Originales ad Episcopos*: Lopašić, 'Spomenici hrvatske krajine', p. 23. See also Chapter Three p. 70 and note 25, p. 218 above.

In the course of 1696, the Croats regained control from the Turks of several towns along the river Una, including Jasenovac, Dubica, Kostajnica, Novi and Zrin. They wanted control of the upper Una, especially Bihać which after the loss of Knin had been the main city of old Croatia. Šelišćević spent eleven months at Vienna advocating the sabor's rights and supporting the many petitions of the sabor to the Emperor concerning the region between the Kupa and the Una. Finally in 1696, the Emperor established a commission to resolve the conflict between the Inner Austrian War Council at Graz and the sabor over this issue: Klaić, *Život i Djela*, pp. 100-101.

Vitezović had appealled, unsuccessfully, to the Emperor for the grant of the estate of Pravutina which was near the town of Bibnik on the Kupa: Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p. 68.

8. The letter, dated 22 May 1699, from colonel Adam Domjanić to vice-ban Stjepan Jelačić well illustrates the prevailing mood of hostility towards the agents of the Inner Austrian War Council at Graz: Lopašić, 'Spomenici hrvatske krajine', pp. 150–151; Klaić, *Život i Djela*, pp. 127–130.

9. In 1697, Vitezović appealled to the Emperor for the ruined castle at Brezovica with its possessions in the district of Vitrovica only to receive the disconcerting reply that his family and its services were not known: Chapter Two, note 39, p. 208 above. The whole episode is discussed by Klaić who also names other nobles bidding for estates in east Slavonia at the same time: Klaić, *Život i Djela*, pp. 119–120.

The bishop of Zagreb, Stjepan Šelišćević was eager to establish the rights of the Zagreb bishopric over lower Slavonia and called upon Vitezović to help him to invalidate the rival claims of the bishop of Pecs: Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p. 168. For Vitezović's conclusions: *Pobijanja pretenzija pecuhske biskupije na Slavoniju, Epistolae ad diversos*, A. Z. N. CLIV XIII 168; reproduced by Lopašić, 'Slavonski spomenici, pp. 164–165.

10. The Privilege of Trpimir, dated 852, showed that the northern boundary of the Kingdom of Croatia had in the past been formed by the river Danube. The Kingdom had in the past embraced not only the Slavonia of the royal title but also those parts of Pannonia which had been absorbed by the Kings of Hungary into their own kingdom, leaving the river Drava as the northern boundary of the Kingdom of Croatia. The

Danube had however continued to serve as the northern boundary of Serbia. The relevant discussion is spread throughout *Regia Illyriorum*. See also *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p. 7, where Vitezović cited Aeneas Sylvius and Stephen Broderich.

Pannonia was the old Roman name for the region bounded on the east by Upper Moesia, on the north by the Danube, the west by Noricum and to the south by Dalmatia. Vitezović claimed Pannonia for Croatia in the *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, main references p. 7, p. 22. Throughout *Plorantis Croatiae*, Croatia feels *pia cura* for the safety of Pannonia: for example, *Plorantis Croatiae*, p. 17.

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11. '*Mene srce u Bosnu velče*', Ban Erdödy's remark to Martin Borković, bishop of Zagreb: Srkulj, op. cit., p. 55.

12. The Branković family prided themselves on their old nobility as knezes and they asserted that their forefathers held spacious possessions in Bosnia around Sarajevo, especially the estates at Brajković and Bela. During the late 1680s, they petitioned the Emperor Leopold to confirm their ancient nobility and to return them to their rightful possessions once Bosnia was liberated from the Turks. Vitezović, who wanted to marry into their family, assisted in proving their title to these estates: Vitezović's genealogy of the Branković family, Arh. Jug. Ak. III. d. 194; Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p. 73.

13. Vitezović, *De Bosniensi Episcopatu* in *Opuscula varia ad historiam Illyricam spectantia*; Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p. 262.

14. Vitezović concludes *Ad Comitem Marsilium Caesareum Legatum* with the lines:

Go out with good auspices, one day you will return to me,
To give back my Bosnia and the Sirmian countryside,
And he whom captive Rama once held captive,
Shall be returned to his king, oh free Rama.

Rama: see note 19 below. Nostra Bosna: *Plorantis Croatiae*, p. 1.

15. In *Bosna Captiva*, Vitezović notes that after the death of Stephen:

> A great part of the Bosnians then saved themselves from this confusion by fleeing into the neighbouring regions of Croatia and to the coast; of these families, very many which were once noble now survive deprived of their substance, loving their religion more than their *patria*.

Vitezović intended this observation upon the high-mindedness of the Bosnian exiled nobility as a compliment to the dedicatee of *Bosna Captiva*, the vice-ban Keglević who was helping with production costs. In the dedication he explains in detail the Keglević family's connections with Bosnia. It would seem that they had not been settled in Croatia above forty years. Other of Vitezović's patrons had Bosnian origins: for the family of Aleksander Mikulić, the Zagreb bishop, see note 29, p. 207 above; for that of the great cardinal arch-bishop Leopold Kollonich, see Chapter Two, note 10, p. 201 above.

16. The verses of commendation after the dedication of *Bosna Captiva* are a source for the expectations of some at least of Vitezović's circle with regard to the future of Bosnia: for example, A.B. writes, 'For the mighty Charles, powerful with the sword restores to us Bosnia and *totum Illyricum*'. Dr Valentine Juraj Philonphret effuses at length:

The Austrian Mars makes ready to lead
Strong forces to the Kingdom of Rama.....,

He shall bring it to pass that Bosnia,
Now narrow in its boundaries,
Accustomed to running with a brief frontier,
Shall, from being a slave,
As master spread yet wider
Beyond the Bosphoran fields,

17. The summons was dated 29 November 1700 and signed by Ladislav Matiassovsky, bishop of Nyitra and president of the Hungarian Chancery. Vitezović made a transcript of the summons: see *Miscellanea*; Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p. 146; Schneider, op. cit., p. 117.

18. *Nullam Dalmatiam esse*, from the introduction to *Regia Illyriorum* Klaić, *Život i Djela*, p. 157.

19. Rama referred to the area around the basin of the river Rama and lying between a tributary of the Neretva and the upper course of the Doljanka. The name first appears in sources from the twelfth century. In 1138, the Kings of Hungary adopted it as part of their royal title, using it erroneously as an alternative for Bosnia. It was never a kingdom in its own right.

Vitezović noted that 'Rama is the name by which the Kings of Hungary included Bosnia, Hlivnia and Hercegovina in their royal title': *Stemmatographia*, p. 71.

20. *Tota Croatia* occurs in the dedication of the *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam* and throughout *Regia Illyriorum* and the *Banalogia*: see also note 42 below.

21. Vitezović's outlines of *Illyricum stricte sumptum* are in *Regia Illyriorum*, p. 2 and again on p. 6; compare *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p. 31. Although he did not give an exact reference, he probably had in mind the description of Illyricum given by Suetonius in his *Vita Tiberii*, Chapter Sixteen. Vitezović also referred to Philip Briel's *Carta Geographica* as a source for Illyricum in its narrowest sense.

22. *Banalogia*, Chapter Ten, *De Banatus Amplitudine et Divisione*.

23. Vitezović's account of the division of the kingdom is based upon that given by Thomas the Archdeacon: Regia Illyriorum, p. 16; Banalogia, Chapter Ten, *De Banatus amplitudine et divisione*.
There is a reference to Budimir and the division in *Kronika* for year 756 A.D.

24. *Banalogia*, Chapter Ten.

25. *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p. 11.

26. 'But not only the Narentani, as we shall demonstrate in what follows, are of the Slav and Croatian nation, but even the very Bosnians and Serbians': *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p. 11.

27. Lučić had attributed Bosnia to *Croatia Rubea*: see *Regia Illyriorum* p. 26. Vitezović noted that Bosnia was separated from Serbia by the river

Drina and that the Bosnians were different from the Serbs in religion and government. Bosnia was subject:

to neither the Megažupan of Serbia nor to the Emperor Emanuel but to the kings of Croatia as to fathers and then to the Hungarians and at length having briefly acquired their own [sc. kings], they lost their nobility and liberty being supressed by the Turkish yoke.

Regia Illyriorum, p. 26.

There is great emphasis throughout *Bosna Captiva* upon the Bosnians' adherence to the western, not the eastern Church. King Stephen sends Pope Pius an account of his family's Christian history and his father's role in eradicating the Bogumil heretics. He exclaims proudly, 'I have been baptized since my infancy and educated in Latin letters and I firmly profess the Catholic faith', all proof indeed that he was 'of the West'. It was while under the kings of Croatia that Bosnia was said to have enjoyed its heyday: *Stemmatographia* p. 62; *Anagrammaton II*.

The equivocal position of the Bosnians, caught between the Croats and the Serbs, remains the matter of heated debate: see Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia*, p. 201.

28. I have said that the kings of Croatia had other dukes and princes under them, indeed they used to appoint the *župni* (chiefs of a district) of Rassia. Stephan *knez* [prince] of Bosnia, that is *comes*, is said to have been appointed by Bodinus, king of the Croats.

Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam, p. 22.

The Hungarian kings were in no doubt that they owned Bosnia:

Since indeed the kings of Bosnia were considered by the kings of Hungary to be after the manner (*instar*) of bans or viceroys, they (the Hungarian kings) used always to refer to the Kingdom of Bosnia as theirs.

Regia Illyriorum, p. 26

Vitezović notes that *Croatia Rubea* and *Serbia* (sic) were allotted a king in place of a ban through the favour of Gregory VII, the Roman Pontiff, and assumed the names of *Rassia* and *Servia* (sic). In imitation of these, when the Serbian kings died out, Bosnia attained the royal title for its ban Tvrtko or Valerius from the Hungarian King Ludovic: *Banalogia*, Chapter Ten.

In *Bosna Captiva*, the Pope feared that sending a crown to Stephan might upset the Hungarian kings.

29. *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p. 12.

30. The first syllable *bjel* suggests the Slav word for white. It is difficult to see which names Vitezović had in mind in the works of the Elder Pliny: *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p. 12.

31. *Regia Illyriorum*, p. 4 and *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p. 13.

32. *Regia Illyriorum*, pp. 7-8.

33. Krešimir's jurisdiction over the Adriatic is demonstrated by the wording of the donation which he made to the monastery of Saint Grisogono on the island of Maun. Vitezović quoted Krešimir's words, 'Almighty God has extended our kingdom on land and sea, likewise our own island (*nostram propriam insulam*) sited in our Dalmatian sea (*in nostro Dalmatico Mari*) which is called Maun': *Regia Illyriorum*. See also *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p. 13.

Vitezović's source was Ivan Lučić, *De Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*, Book Two, Chapter Three.

34. *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p. 15.

35. References to the Venetians paying tribute: *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p. 14; *Plorantis Croatiae*, p. 33; *Kronika* year A.D 997.; *Chapter Five, Offuciae Joannis Lucii de Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae Refutatae* (hereafter, *Offuciae Joannis Lucii*), N.S.B. R 3453; *Regia Illyriorum*, p. 3.

36. *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p. 16.

37. 'When the ,Slavs took up occupancy, these distinctions, namely Japidia, Liburnia and Dalmatia, were abandoned and all of Strabo's Illyricum began to be known as Slavonia or Croatia', *Regia Illyriorum*, p. 2; compare with *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p. 25.

Vitezović was, as ever harsh upon Lučić:

> More recent writers however, in particular Ivan Lučić of Trogir (unless in truth the work which was published had been tampered with after the author's death) have tried to the detriment of the Kingdom and the King of the Croats to restore the long extinct Dalmatia within Croatia.
>
> *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p. 16.

38. Vitezović wrote of Lučić that:

> He should not have been ignorant of their traditions in either work, when, having turned over so many archives of citizens, among so many privileges of the holy kings of Croatia and Hungary, not one is found granted to them by either the Greek or the Frankish Emperor, *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p. 25.

39. *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p. 26.

40. *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p. 26.

41. Concerning the name of Dalmatia, Vitezović wrote:

[sc. the name of Dalmatia] by which the Romans once called the province has been maintained by the kings of Croatia and Hungary for the sake of increasing their honour and it has been added to the titles of the Kingdom of Croatia. In just the same way the titles of kings of Serbia, Rassia, then Rama and finally Bosnia have arisen, all these provinces being in the past part of the Kingdom of Croatia.

Regia Illyriorum, p. 82.

For the signet ring of Krešimir: *Offuciae Joannis Lucii*, p. 21.

42. Therefore it would be sufficient for Your Ever August Majesty the Emperor as King of Croatia to use in place of the separate kingdoms of Dalmatia, Slavonia, Rama and Serbia, the title All Croatia (*tota Croatia*) which correctly embraces everything and which the kings and dukes of the whole region used to use.

Regia Illyriorum, final paragraph.

43. Quoted by Ferdo Šišić, *Geschichte der Kroaten*, pp. 380-381.

44. *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam*, p. 32; for the *Anagrammaton II*, see Appendix Two.

Notes

Chapter Seven.

1. *Plorantis Croatiae*, p. 89.

2. The whole of our public life is still burdened with complex atavisms and we still live mentally in the past and from the past rather than the present. This is as true of the Croatian as it is of the Serbian part of the nation',

Milan Marjanović writing in 1935, op. cit., vol. 29, p. 740.

3. Črnja, op. cit., p. 368.

4. *Catalogus Librorum Zagrabiae Impressorum ab Anno 1690 usque 1800 ordine chronologico*, compiled by Adam Baričević.

5. Vitezović's *Kronika* was up-dated and all first person references altered for the 1744 and 1762 reprints made at Zagreb. These later editions did not include Vitezović's Latin introduction and vernacular preface and addendum; even his name was missing from the 1762 edition.

6. The inventories used are listed in the Select Bibliography.

7. Andrija Kašić-Miošić, from Briste on the Makarska littoral: Črnja, op. cit., p. 364-7; Lauer, op. cit., p. 131-32.

The work of the less-renowned Franciscan Filip Grabovac (1697/8-1749) anticipates the approach of Kašić-Miošić: Grabovac's *Cvit razgovora naroda i jezika iliričkoga aliti rvackoga* (Venice, 1747), annotated

reprint edited by Tomo Matić, *Stari pisci hrvatski*, vol. 30 (Zagreb, 1951).

8. Here [sc. in Nikola Šubić Zrinski and Kraljević Marko] we see at what it is that our nation most marvels. Above all in a man, will and emotion is more important than intellect.

Šrepel writing in 1902, op. cit. p. 89.

9. James Macpherson (1736-1796) produced a number of volumes of epic poetry which he claimed were translations from the work of a Gaelic poet called Ossian. These verses, which were Macpherson's own work, appealed to the sensibilites of mid-eighteenth century European readers. There was a copy of a German translation of 'Ossian's' works, published at Vienna in 1784, in the Kušević family library: *Knjižnica obitelj Kušević iz Male Mlake*, N.S.B., without call number.

10. Adam Baltazar Krčelić: Črnja, op. cit., p. 372-375; Šišić, 'Hrvatska historiografija', vol. 2, pp. 22-38.

11. Adam Franz Kollár was librarian to the Empress Maria Theresa. His two controversial works were the *Historia Diplomatica Iuris Patronatus apostolicorum Hungariae Regum* (Vienna, 1762) and *De Originibus et Usu perpetuo potestatis Legislatoriae circa sacra Apostolicorum Regum Ungariae* (Vienna, 1764).

Krčelić and the incident with the pamphlet: Krčelić, - *Annuae sive Historia ab anno inclusive 1748 et subsequis 1767 ad posteritatis notitiam*, in the 1952 Zagreb edition, p. 418; Preface (n. p.) to *De Regnis Dalmatiae Croatiae et Slavoniae Notitiae Praeliminares* (hereafter, *De Regnis*).

The pamphlet, *Vexatio dat intellectum*, was, he believed, the work of Ivan Krstitelj Pakši, the bishop of Srijem.

12. Krčelić, Preface to *De Regnis*.

13. But it was thought an impiety for one from secular society to write and the rule of eternal truth was "let the priest stick to his temple, the religious his letters and the layman his sword".

Krčelić, Preface to *De Regnis*.

14. January 20th 1713, it was a Friday, around 7 o'clock in the morning, Ritter yielded his great soul. He died twelve days before the moratorium granted him by the king expired. He had one consolation in death, he did not die homeless.

Klaić, *Život i djela*, p. 290.

15. Preface by Antun Barac to the exhibition catalogue, *Izložba djela Pavla Vitezovića*.

Appendix One

Chronology

1652 January 7th, Pavao Ritter Vitezović born at Senj. The Ritter family admitted to nobility of Kingdoms of Croatia and Hungary. Publication of Juraj Rattkay's *Memoria Regum et Banorum Regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Sclavoniae.*

1664 Peace of Vasvár. The Jesuits at Zagreb acquire a printing-press but fail to make it operate.

c. 1665 Vitezović enters the grammar school runs by the Jesuits at Zagreb under the rectorship of Juraj Habdelić.

1666 Publication of Ivan Lučić's *De Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae.*

1669 The Emperor Leopold grants the grammar school at Zagreb the rights and privileges accorded to universities in Germany, Austria and Hungary. Count Johann Josip Herberstein appointed general of the Croatian lands and grand captain at Senj.

c. 1670 Vitezović leaves the grammar school at Zagreb without completing the full course of study and travels in Italy and Carniola.

1671 Execution of ban Petar Zrinski and Fran Krsto Frankopan after their involvement in the Conspiracy of the Magnates. The office of ban of the Kingdom of Croatia is left vacant.

1672 Publication of Václav Jan Rosa's *Czechořečnost seu Grammatica linguae Bohemicae.* Beginning of the rebellions of Imre Thököly.

1676-7 Vitezović remains as a guest of Janez Vajkard Valvasor at

Wagensberg in Carniola and starts work on a history of the Gusić family, later to become *Apographum ex Joanne Lucio*.

1678 Death of Juraj Habdelić.

1679 Death of Ivan Lučić at Rome. Publication of Valvasor's *Topographie Ducatus Carniolise Modernae*. Vitezović returns to Senj and possibly takes part in engagement against the Turks.

1681 The Emperor Leopold summons the Hungarian diet at Sopron and appoints Nikola Erdődy as Croatian ban. Vitezović attends the diet as representative of Senj appointed by the town council. Publication of *Apographum ex Joanne Lucio* and *Vinculum ex Pindiis Hortis*. Writes *Lamentatio Segniae*.

1682 Vitezović continues his studies at Vienna and petitions the court on behalf of Senj. Composes poem for his own thirtieth birthday in which he characterizes his life as a failure. Publishes *Novus Skenderbeg*.

1683 Beginning of the Vienna War. Death of Juraj Križanić at the siege of Vienna. Vitezović leaves Vienna to serve in the army under ban Erdődy.

1684 Ban Erdődy sends Vitezović to Linz as an emissary. Vitezović publishes first part of *Odiljenje Sigetsko* at Linz, is appointed captain in the regiment of Count Ricciardi.

1685 Vitezović publishes second part of *Odiljenje Sigetsko*. His military service ends as Ricciardi's regiment is disbanded.

1686-7 Vitezović remains at Vienna as agent of the Croatian sabor.

1687 Emperor summons diet at Pozsony. Hungarian diet accepts right of

inheritance of the House of Habsburg to the Hungarian throne. Vitezović attends the diet as representative of Senj and is made a Golden Knight by the Emperor. Publishes *Anagrammaton sive Laurus auxiliatoribus Ungariae* and appeals to the Emperor for the estate at Pravutina. Approaches Karl Liechtenstein-Castelcorno for patronage.

1689 Aleksander Mikulić appointed bishop of Zagreb. Petar Drašković routs the Turkish forces at Zrinje on the river Una. Vitezović celebrates Drašković's victory in the verse *Novljančica*, now lost. Publishes *Anagrammaton sive laurus auxiliatoribus Ungariae liber secundus* and *Germania Laureata*.

1691 Most of eastern Slavonia, the land between the rivers Kupa and Una and the districts of Lika and Krbava are liberated. Vitezović appointed to the honorary post of deputy to the governor (*župan*) of Lika and Krbava, Count Ricciardi.

1692 Publishes *Meszecsnik Hervatzki*.

1693 Lika and Krbava turned into a captaincy of the Military Frontier. Death of Vitezović's friends and patrons, Janez Vajkard Valvasor and ban Nikola Erdődy. Ádám Batthyány appointed to succeed Erdődy as Croatian ban.

1694 Death of Vitezović's friend and patron Aleksander Mikulić and the appointment of Stjepan Šelišćević as bishop of Zagreb. Vitezović at Vienna as secretary to the envoys of the sabor protesting at the Kingdom's over-taxation. Appointed manager of the Kingdom's printing-press by decree of the sabor. Marries Baroness Katarina Vojnović.

1695 Vitezović writes to Stjepan Šelišćević concerning the future of the liberated land between the rivers Kupa and Una.

1696 Liberation of Jasenovac, Dubica and Novi on the lower Una. Vitezović publishes *Kronika*, *Anagrammaton liber tertius*, *Fatum et Votum* and issues appeal for documents, and inscriptions.

1697 Vitezović appeals, unsuccessfully, to the Emperor for castle at Brezovica. Publishes *Dnevnik i Meszecsnik letta 1697.*

1698 The Croats fail to take Bihać. The begining of peace negotiations between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans at Karlowitz. At Vienna, Vitezović presents the case of the Senjani against the imposition of a new salt tax by the Inner Austrian War Council. Publishes *Fata et Vota*, a reprint of *Laurus auxiliatoribus* with additional anagrams and *Zoroast Horvacki.*

1699 Peace of Karlowitz closes the Vienna War. Sabor appoints Vitezović to accompany the Emperor's emissary, Count Ferdinand Luigi Marsigli. Vitezović writes memorandum on the borders of the Kingdom of Croatia for Marsigli, the *Responsio ad postulata.* Re-issues *Fata et Vota* with a new dedication and publishes *Zaroast Hervacki.*

1700 January, Vitezović publishes *Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam* and in December is summoned to Vienna by the Emperor and commissioned to write a study of borders of Kingdom of Croatia.

1701 Beginning of War of Spanish Succession. At Vienna, Vitezović writes *Regia Illyriorum*, publishes *Stemmatographia* and Lado Hervacki is commissioned by the Emperor to produce a

memorandum on the rights of the imperial treasury in Croatia and Slavonia. Receives royal charters demanding that he be given access to archives throughout the Kingdom. Assists Šelišćević in his claims to Lower Slavonia. Is admitted into the 'faculty of Doctors of Wine' or the 'Pinta', a drinking society for Croatian men of letters at Vienna.

1702 Vitezović seeks, without success, appointment as chief captain of Lika and Krbava. Continues his research for the memorandum on the rights of the imperial treasury in the Kingdom of Croatia. Re-issues the Stemmatographia from Zagreb.

1703 Ferenc II Rákóczi raises rebellion in Transylvania. After the death of Stjepan Šelišćević, Martin Brajković, bishop of Senj becomes bishop of Zagreb. Ban Ádám Batthyány dies and is succeeded by János Pálffy. Petar Keglević becomes vice-ban. Vitezović's brother-in-law becomes associated with Rákóczi. Vitezović publishes *Plorantis Croatiae* and *Priricsnik*.

1704 Group of Senjani seize enemy French ship. Vitezović celebrates their heroism in *Szejncsica eliti Djacska od Szejnskoga na moru junastva*. Publishes *Natales Divo Ladislavo*.

1705 Death of Emperor Leopold I and accession of Joseph I. Vitezović publishes Vita et martyrium B. Vladimir and *Miszecsnik Hervacki goszpodi*.

1706 Fire in the Upper town, Zagreb, destroys many buildings and renders the Kingdom's printing-press out of action. Vitezović prepares *Indigetes Illyricani*.

1707 Vitezović rents the castle and estate at Ščitarjevo from canon Ivan Jonata Ivanović.

1708 Death of Martin Brajković; accession of Emerik Esterházy as bishop of Zagreb. The Emperor Joseph declares Vitezović heir to canon Ivanović's property at Ščitarjevo and Čanjevo. Second imperial decree makes Vitezović guardian of Ivanović.

1710 Vitezović loses law-suit brought against him at Zagreb and retires to Vienna. Sends *Geneticon* to Peter the Great. Approaches Pope Clement XI concerning the publication of his lexicons by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.

1710-1712 Prepares *Serbia Illustrata* and *Banalogia*, but his patrons are unable to supply the full amount necessary for publication.

1711 Death of Emperor Joseph I and accession of Charles VI. At Vienna, Vitezović tries unsuccessfully to gain castle at Novi and a place in the Hungarian treasury. The sisters of the Convent of St Clare at Zagreb launch law suit to recover money owed to them by Vitezović. Publishes *Gaudium patri ex nati felicitate*, *Ungaria pullata* and *Austria pullata*.

1712 March, the sabor meeting at Zagreb accepts the Pragmatic Sanction. Vitezović attends diet at Pozsony as representative of Senj. Publishes *Bosna Captiva*, *Fata et Vota*, *Ungaria Toga et Sago conspicua*, *Virtutes Coronatae sive Heroes XIV* and *Virtutes Coronatae sive Heroes VIII*. Sisters of Saint Clare attempt to take possession of Vitezović's house at Zagreb. November, Vitezović petitions the Emperor and the Hungarian palatine

and Chancellor over the rights and privileges of the citizens of Senj.

1713 January 20th, Pavao Ritter Vitezović dies. January 21st, agents of the Hungarian Chancery compile an inventory and evaluate Vitezović's personal effects, books and manuscripts.

Appendix Two

The Extent of the Illyrian-Slav World

1. Addendum to *Kronika aliti Szpomen Vszega Svieta Vikov.*

Translator's Note. When translating place names, where possible the modern English equivalent has been given. Where no English form exists, the Latin form has been used as being the more accessible to English readers. After both the English and Latin forms, the Croatian original, where substantially different, is given in brackets. In those few instances where the Croatian form defies translation, the original has been retained with Vitezović's spelling.

I have used the Slav name in many places in this memorandum, don't for this reason think that I have understood by this name only that part of the Slav Nation (*Szlovenski Narod*) which is between the Drava and the Sava (*Szava*), but also likewise the Danube province (*Dunaje zadershavo*), which, in particular, still to this day uses the Slav name, and also all the rest of that territory which earlier the Greeks and Latins understood under the name of Illyria, but especially what people and present-day Slavs call Pannonia and which is between the Drava and the Danube, and their language is of old Slav and for some time they have been mixed in with the Hungarians and are for the most part subjected to them. That you should be better informed concerning these names and the greatness and breadth of the Slav empire, I wish briefly to add this.

All ancient and modern historians, world chroniclers and other men of letters write that the once powerful Roman commanders defined and called either the world of this Illyrian land, or by the name of the Slav nation, all this territory which begins at the source or spring whence the Danube flows right to where it enters the Black Sea (*Cserno More*) and

then across from the Adriatic Sea and the Mediterranean (*Mejzemalsko*) right to the Northern deserted, icy and uninhabited territory. Thus they also assigned to the Slavs or Illyrians all of Muscovy (*Moskovitska*) in Europe (and even a great part in Asia as well), all of Thrace (*Thracia*) or the Adrianopolitan land (*Drinopolska Zemla*), and all the Greek possessions with the neighbouring islands. Pomponius Mela, Sextus Rufus and following them, Aventinus, Lazius, Pancirolus and all the rest thus bear witness.

Our glorious Illyrian, otherwise known as the Slav language spreads thus afar that with it speak, 'all Slavs, Slovaks (*Slovaki*), Czechs (*Cseh*), Moravians (*Moravi*), Silesians (*Slezi*), Lusatians (*Lusatci*), likewise Poles (*Polaki*), Pomeranians (*Pomerani*), Cassubians (*Kassubi*), *Masovi*, Lithuanians (*Lituani*), Livonians (*Livoni*), Belorussians (*Borussi*), Samojeds (*Szamojedi*), *Volhinyi*, *Podolci*, *Podlassi*, *Szeveri*, *Novogradci*, *Vlodomissi*, Ukrainians (*Ukrainci*), *Pleskovci*, *Csernikovci*, *Rasanci*, and in addition to these also across both Russias and Muscovy, far Siberia and from these Northern regions of the world, on one side right to Nova Zemlja, Jugria and the icy sea (which the Latins call the Caspian Sea) and whatever land there is between the Swedish (*Svecko*) or Northern White Sea and great Scythia (*Szitia*) or Tartary (*Tatteria*), Parthia (*Partmia*) and likewise also Persia. Across the Hungarian land, Croatia, Dalmatia, Istria, Carinthia, Carniola, Styria, Forum Julii (*Furlanska*), Serbia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Albania, Alexandria (*Skenderia*), Rassia (*Rasska*), Adrianople (*Drinopolska*), Transylvania (*Jerdelska*), Moldavia, Wallachia (*Vlaska*), Little Tartary or the

Crimea (*Hrima*) and across the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov (*Mutno jezero*) beside the river Dnieper (*Boristen*) and the Don (*Dan*), and added to this across Asia Minor, which the Turks call Anatolia, especially from the Pontus, Bithynia (*Bittinia*) or Borussia (*Brußia*), Lycia (*Licia*), Galatia (*Galacia*), Pamphylia, Caria, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Cilicia or Karamania, Armenia Minor and all the other great and distant lands all to Colchis (*Kolkov*) and the Circassia (*Cerkessov*) mentioned above and the inhabitants of the Five Mountains (*Petogoriev*) nearest to Colchis. In a word, the Turkish Empire in Europe and Asia Minor and so it spreads for very many thousands of miles in length and breadth.'

Thus writes Master Václav Jan Rosa (Wenceslav Ivan Rosa) in his *Čzechořečnost* (*Csehorecsnost*) and many others. What is more, our language is heard the most often [sc. of other languages] among the Turks at the Court of the Turkish Emperor. The extent of the greatness of this language is seen from the Golden Bull of Emperor Charles IV in which he commands the Electors of the Holy Roman Empire to have their sons learn among the other European languages in particular German, Latin and Slav.

Wherefore all my Lords, Brothers and Slav friends, to whom God has given such a celebrated language and glorious homeland, glorify the language with your virtues and celebrate the homeland which, with you and yours after you, may The Almighty and Most Merciful God guard, keep and bless throughout all ages. Amen.

11. Parts of Illyricum listed in the *Anagrammaton, sive Laurus auxiliatoribus Ungariae, liber secundus* and marked on Map 1, p. 309.

N.B. Vitezović's own spellings have been retained.

Absorus
Agriani
Albania
Almisa
Arbia
Bisalthia
Bosnia
Bracea
Bulgaria
Carsia
Cernicum
Cetina
Clissa
Corbavia
Corcira nigra
Cossova
Crema (vulgo Posega)
Crisium
Croatia
Croja
Cudvergia
Culmea
Cumania
Dacia
Dalmatia
Dardania
Dumno
Emathia
Epirus
Grahovia
Hlivnea
Jadra
Japodes
Japra
Istria
Lesina
Lica
Lissa
Lodomeria
Macedonia
Magnesia
Modricia
Modrusia
Moesia
Neretva
Nevesinia
Onogostia
Praevalitana
Ragusina Respublica
Rama
Rascia
Rudina
Sadrima
Sale
Salona
Samandria
Savia
Scardona
Scodra
Segar
Segnia
Senta
Senta Superior
Senta Inferior
Serbia
Servia
Sirmium
Slavonia
Slavonica Marchia
Sliuna
Spalatum
Suitava
Ternova
Thessalia
Tininium
Traguria
Tribalia
Trieste
Turovia
Valconia
Valpo
Varasdinum
Vares
Veglia
Verbosania
Verocia
Usora
Zagrabiensis Comitatus

iii. Parts of Illyricum listed in the *Stemmatographia sive Armorum Illyricorum Delineatio, Descriptio et Restitutio* and marked on Map 1, p. 309.

N.B. Vitezović's own spellings have been retained.

Albania
Austria
Besarabia
Bohemia
Borussia
Bosna
Bulgaria
Carinthia
Celtae
Carniolia
Creta
Croatia
Chulmania
Cumania
Dacia
Dalmatia
Dardania
Epirus
Graecia
Hercegovina
Japodia
Istria
Liburnia
Lodomeria
Macedonia
Moesia
Moldavia
Moravia
Moscovia
Pannonia
Polonia
Ragusa
Rama
Rassia
Romania
Russia
Scythia
Serblia
Silesia
Sirmium
Slavonia Danubiana
Slavonia Maris Balthici
Slavonia moderna
Stiria
Thessalia
Thracia Odrysiorum
Thracia Romanorum
Transylvania
Triballia
Turcia
Valachia
Venetia
Ungaria

Appendix Three

The Works of Pavao Ritter Vitezović

i Bibliography of Vitezović's published works

The pattern of upper and lower case letters in the original titles has been retained to demonstrate Vitezović's use of chronograms and other number magic.

Ad Archiducalem Carinthiae Nympham, de novo Illustrissimi Domini Domini Joannis Weichardi Valvasor Liberi Baronis &c; in Janez Vajkard Valvasor, *Topographia Archiducatus Carinthiae Antiquae et Moderna completa* (Wagensperg, 1687).

Ad Illustrissiumum ideatae Illyro-Pannonicae Magnanimitatis Authorem, accinebat E(ques) P(avao) R(itter); in Ivan Čikulin, *Idea Magnanimitatis Illyricae & Pannonicae Viginti Quatuor* (Zagreb, 1705).

Ad Opus descriptionis Ducatus Carnioliae Illustrissimi Domini, Domini Joannis Weichardi Valvasor, Liberi Baronis &c, in Janez Vajkard Valvasor *Die Ehre des Hertzogthums Crain* (Ljubljana, 1689), pp. xvii-xxvii.

Anagrammaton, liber tertius (Zagreb, 1696).

Anagrammaton sive Laurus auxiliatoribus Ungariae, pars prima, liber primus (Vienna, 1687).

Anagrammaton sive Laurus auxiliatoribus Ungariae, liber secundus (Vienna, 1689).

Apographum ex Joanne Lucio, aliisque nonnulis approbatis historicis de Comitatibus Corbaviae qui fuerunt ex genere Gussich (Ljubljana, 1681).

Austria pullata ad manes Josephi I (Vienna, 1711).

Bosna captiva sive Regnum et interitus Stephani ultimi Bossnae regis (Tyrnau, 1712).

Dnevnik i meszecsnik letta 1697, to jest jezero seszt szto devedeszet szedmogg (Zagreb, 1697).

Epaeneticon, Honori Illustrissimi ac Reverendissimi Domini Domini Blasii Jaklin, Episcopi Tininiensis Metropolitanae Strigoniensis Ecclesiae Praepositi Majoris Abbatis Pilisiensis, Sacrae Caesareae Regiaeque majestatis Consiliarii ac Aulae per Ungariam Cancellarij &c Consecratum a Paulo Ritter Eq(uite) *Aur*(eo) (Zagreb, 169?)

Fata et vota, sive Opera anagrammaton (Vienna, 1698).

De Natali Die Sui Ipsius.

Fatum et votum quod excelsis inclyti ducatus Carnioliae magystratibus et deputatis &c In annI noVI XenIVM DICat offerqVe eqVes PaVLUS RItter (Zagreb, 1696).

GaVDIUM patrI eX natJ feLICItate propJtJJs astrJs aVgVratVr. Sive Illustrissimus Adolescens FRANCISCUS e CAELestJ sJsteMate rJte DeLJneatVs, pIo, patrJ, Illustrissimo Excellentissimoque Domino, DOMINO ALEXANDRO MALASPINAE, S.R. Imp. Marchioni Potentianae, Fenilis, Amolae, &c pro sac. Imp. Majest. Administratori Foeudi Avulae eiusque Pertinentiarum &c Dono DeDItVs, ConseCratVs, ab E(quite) P(aulo) R(itter) (Vienna, 1711).

Germania laureata, sive Pars laurus auxiliatoribus Ungariae, Sacro Romano Germanico Imperio, regnis ei collateralibus, nec non ditionibus ac locis eius praecipuis nuncupata (Pozsony, 1689).

In Novum Illustrissimi Domini, Domini Joannis Weichardi Valvasor Topographiae Carniolae Librum, in Janez Weickjard Valvasor Topographia Ducatus Carniolae Modernae (Wagensperg, 1679).

Kronika, Aliti Szpomen Vszega Szvieta Vikov, u dva Dela razredyen; koterih pervi, dershi od pocsetka szvieta, do Kristusevoga porojenja, Druggi, od Kristusevoga porojenja do izpunjenja letta 1690. Szloshen i nasvitlo dan po Pavlu Vitezovichu Zlatnom Vitezu (Zagreb, 1696).

Lado hervacki iliti Sibila (Zagreb, 1701).

Meszecsnik Hervatzki..... za letto 1692 (Zagreb, 1692). Title page partly destroyed.

Miszecsnik Hervacki goszpodi, goszpodarom i vsake verszti lyudem obojega sztana iszpolla za vsako vreme priliku i shelu kruto hasnovit i potriban za letto Gospodna nassega MDCCV to jest szedemsto i peto (Zagreb, 1705).

Natales D(ivo) Ladislavo R(ege) Slavoniae Apostolo Restituti ab Equite Paulo Ritter, S.C.R. Maj Consiliario (Zagreb, 1704).

Nova Musa sive Pars artificiosa operum poeticorum quae annuo ablegationis suae ad Caesaream aulam tempore concinnabat (Vienna, 1683).

Grates pro gratis quas Invictissimo, Augustissimo Leopoldo Romanorum Imperatori, Hungariae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Sclavoniae Regi ac Domino Domino suo Clementissimo in fine generaLis earUnDeM Congregationis, Voto & assensU partIbUs agUnt

Sacer Chorus seu Applausus Metricus a Phoeba et Musis Celebratus, qui Serenissimo Principi Josepho Jacobo, Joanni, Ignatio, Antonio, Eustachio, Augustissimi Romanorum Imperatoris Leopoldi I Magno Filio, Archi-Duci Austriae, Duci Burgundiae, Styriae, Carinthiae, Carniolae, &c Comiti Tyrolis & Goritiae &c &c Die Divo Josepho Augustissima Domus Austriacae tutleari &c Sui Patrono Festiva, De Voto FaUstI oMInIs VInCULo InsIgnItUs, offerebatur a Paulo Ritter, Incl. Commun. Segniae ad Caesaream majestatem Ablegato

De Natali Die Sui Ipsius

Honori Excellentissimi Domini, Domini Joannis Pauli Hacher, Liberi Baronis ab Hachengran

Columna Ecclesiae quam Acrostico-Rythmo-Aequilibri Constructam Celisssimo Reverendissimoque Principi Domino Domino Georgio Szelepcheny Ecclesiae Metropolitanae Strigoniensis Archi-Episcopo

Corona Lauro-Palmaris A Phoebo et Musis Connexa et Illustrissimo Domino Domino Joanni Carlo Portner, ab Hoefflein &c Sacrae Caesareae regiaeque Majestatis magni

capitaneatus Segniensis Vice-Supremo Capitaneo Confiniique Maritimi Commenanti &c Fortissimo et Fortunatissimo

Pietas Honorata seu Carmen quo Pientissimo Principi Praesuli Honoratissimo Celsissimo ac reverendissimo Domino Domino Enerico Sacri Romani Imperii Principi episcopo Viennensi ac Sacrae Caesareae Majestatis Intimo Consilario &c &c

Nova Equestris Imago, Cum alia Equestri Imagine Sopronii Anno Priori sub generali regnorum conventu elaborata et nunc primum typis mandata seu Nova metri Consonantia, Equitis Strenuissimi Praesulis Doctissimi Praesidis Utilissimi Fidei orthodoxae Propugnatoris Fortisimi Excelenissimi ac Reverendissimi Domini Domini Leopoldi Sac. Rom, Imp. Comitis A, Kolonics, Episcopi Neostadiensis &c

Novus Skenderbeg,

NOVUS SKENDERBEG, SEU ILLUSTRISSIMUS DOMINUS, DOMINUS COMES Don PETRUS RICEJARDI, de Lika Locique & Comitatus ejusdem supremus ac perpetuus Comes, Civitatum Maritimarum, Patricius, Sac. Caes. Regiaeque Majestatis Consiliarius, Croaticarumque Cohortum Colonellus, Cum ab Augustissimo Romanorum IMPERATORE LEOPOLDO I. Iisdem honoribus una & officiis insigniretur, versu heroico & observantiae ergo pro Pomo Natalitio sibi oblato celebratus a PAULO RITTER Incl(itae), Comm(unitatis) Segniae ad Caesaream Majestatem Ablegato (? 1682.)

Odiljenje Sigetsko. Tuliko razlicsitom, kuliko neceujenom doele Hervatske risme liptom spravlyeno. (Linz 1684, Vienna 1685)

Plorantis Croatiae saecula duo carmine descripta (Zagreb, 1703).

Ad Comitem Marsilium Caesareum Legatum.

Priricsnik aliti Razliko Mudroszti Cvitje (Zagreb, 1703).

Prodromus in Croatiam Redivivam; regnante LeopoLDo Magno Caesare deducta ab Eq(uite) Paulo Ritter (Zagreb, 1700).

Stemmatographia sive Armorum Illyricorum delineatio descriptio et restitutio (Vienna, 1701).

Szejncsica aliti Djacska od Szejnskoga na moru junastva (Zagreb, 1704).

Ungaria pullata ad manes Josephi I Regis sui occinens (Vienna, 1711).

UNGARIA TOGA ET SAGO CONSPICUA, REGNANTE CAROLO III, fato eDVCta VotJs CoMItata AB EQUITE PAULO RITTER (Pozsony, 1712).

Universis Dalmatiae Croatiae Slavoniae Bossnae Serbiae Rassiae et Coeterorum Gloriosae Slavae sive Illyricae Nationis Regnorum Provinciarumque Megistantibus Paroecis & Nobilibus Incolis; et non Urbiumque & Oppidorum privilegiatorum Rectoribus Gubernatoribus Judicibus &c &c (Zagreb, 1696).

VInCVLVM eX pInDIIs hortJs CVM aDneXo noVo anno XenIoLO quo Spectabilis Magnificus ac Admodum Reverendus DOMINUS DOMINUS ALEXANDER IGNATIUS MIKULICH, Liber Baro de Brokunovcz, &c Archidiaconus Cathedralis & Canonicus Ecclesiae Zagrabiensis, DIe nataLI DIVo aLeXanDro festIVa

LIgabatVr A Generoso PAVLO RITTER de Segna, Nobili Croata (Ljubljana, 1681).

VIRTUTES CORONATAE; sive VIII. HEROES VELLERE AUREO DECORATI, aD parnassI appLaVsVM LeCtI (Vienna, 1712).

VIRTUTES CORONATAE; sive XIV. HEROES, a D. CAROLO VI. Romanorum IMPERATORE Hisp(aniae) Rege, AUREO VELLERE CORONATI, Viennae Austriae Die 29. Martii. Parnassi Applausi celebrati. qVas eIsDeM heroIbVs ConseCrabat Eques Paulus Ritter (Vienna, 1712)

Vita et Martyrium B(eati) Vladimiri Croatiae Regis fido calamo piis patriotis relata ab Eq(uite) Pav(lo) Ritter, S.C.R.M.C. Ex ea quam fide optima ex vetustissimo Regum Slavorum Commentariolo latinam fecit Presbyter Diocleas: cujus adhuc temporibus D(ivi) Regis sepulchrum miraculorum frequentia coruscabat (Zagreb, 1705).

Zaroast Hervacki aliti Meszecsnik i Dnevnik Goszpodszki i Gospodarszki. Na vs(e) Godische kojese pise od porojenja Goszpodne Nassega 1699. K' poludanyu Okicskomu ztub 46 pomnyivo zracsunan (Zagreb, 1699).

Zoroast Hervacki aliti Meszecsnik i Dnevnik Goszpodszki i Goszpodarszki na vse Godische kojese pise od porojenja Goszpodne Naddega 1698. K' poludanyu Okicskomu ztub 46 pomnyivo zracsunan (Zagreb, 1698).

ii Manuscripts

Atocion despotarum magnorumque Ducum Serbiae posteritatis. Anno Domini MDCXCIV, (1694), Arh. Jug. Ak II.d.92.

Banalogia seu de Banatu Chorvatiae, Arh. Jug. Ak II.d.36.

Banalogia sive de banatu Croatiae, cum Continua banorum chronologia ab A.C. 576, (c.1710), N.S.B. R 3455.

Chronica Hungariae & Cathalogus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, N.S.B. R 3462.

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Andr. Danduli autoritas ap. Joan. Lucium

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Hung. Reges Dalmatiae praetensae Civitatibus et Insulis, suos Comites imponebant

Disponebat Ung. Rex etiam cum Archieppatu Jadrae

Quomodo Spalatum et aliae Maritimae Civitates in Venetorum potestatem reciderunt

Maritimam oram possederunt Croatiae reges

Observationes in opus Joan. Lucii de Regno Dalm. et Croatiae

Stemma Bachichorum

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Bosna

Ducatus S. Savae, vulgo Hercegovina

Hlivna

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Bosna

Serbiae duces

Principatus Chelmiae

Arbor genealogica Lazari Serbiae Principis

Duces et reges Croatiae

Ex Notatis Joan, Barth, Gladić

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Joanneis Zagrabina, sive Quinque sÿdera Ecclesiae Zagrabiensis, Joannis nomine insignita et a Vate laboriosos, 1704

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Novljančica

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Arae et Foci Illyricorum (later *De Aris et Focis Illyriorum*)

Regiae Croatiae Lachrymae (later *Plorantis Croatiae saecula duo?*)

Plorans Segniae, (in four parts, later version of *Lamentatio Segniae?*)

Epistolae Didus

Gloria muliebris

Centuriae aliquot Epistolarum familiarium

Artificiosa Poesis

Clincus & Trintron Dialogi lepidissimi

Poeta delirans

Triumphus Amoris

Liber Epitaphiorum

Liber Epigrammaton

Budimirus periclitatus

Mausoleum Regum Croatiae

Nassa in Historicos Illyricos

De Regno Croatiae Historia.

iv Cartographical Works

MAPPA GEOGRAPHICA. Particularis Varias Limitum circa Triplic(is) Confinii concursum. LINEASineas Hinc inde praetensas Exhibens, (Drežnik, 1699) A.H. B. I. 17.

MAPPA GEOGRAPHICA, CROATIAE PARTEM ILLAM, per quam LIMITES CAESAREUM inter et OTTOMANNICUM IMPERIA, AB UTRIUSQ(ue) COMMISSARIIS, iuxta Pacis Carlovitzensis Instrumentum; Signis partim Naturalibus; Fluminibus, Montibus, partim Artificialibus solitis nimirum Collibus, Humka communiter dictis, constituti; nempe ab OSTIIS UNAE FL(uminis) usque ad TRIPL(ex) CONFIN(ium) transeunt, repraesentans, (1699), A.H. D. I. 64.

MAPPA GENERALIS REGNI CROATIAE TOTIUS: LIMITIBUS SUIS ANTIQUIS, videlicet, a Ludovici, Regis Hungariae, Diplomatibus, comprobatis determinati, (1699), A.H. D. I. 60.

TABULA GEOGRAPHICA LIKENSEM et CORBAVIENSEM Comitatus una cum partibus circum vicinis Regni Croatiae Exhibens, (Rijeka, 1701), A.H. B. III. 1.

v Graphic works

Copper plates engraved by Vitezović and listed with plate number from Valvasor's *Topographia Ducatus Carniolae Modernae* 1679.

12. Arch, in lower Krain
31. Crevzdorf
26. Candershhoff
32. Dominitschhoff
38. Ebendsfeldt
56. Gayerav
57. S. Georgen
58. Gerbin
62. Gimplhoff an der Sav
63. Gimpl
67. Gradez
75. Gritsch pey Pinscka
76. Gros Dorf
77. Grundlhoff
78. Guetenhoff
82. Gvettenegh
84. Die Stadt und Schloss Gurckfeld
89. Hamerstill
94. Höfflein bey Igg
96. Hotemesch
108. Ketizh
112. Klajndorf
179. Perenstein, Bärenstein
191. Prajttenav, Breittenau
204. Rosenek
206. Rudolffsberff
208. Rukhenstajn
217. Schänych
218. Schänperg
220. Schechelhoff
221. Schonkevthurn
225. Schnekenbüchel
227. Schütt
228. Zherne Potok (Schwarzenpach)
230. der Marckht und Scholss Sejsenberg
231. Sejttenhoff
238. Sichelberg
239. Siemitsch
253. Sternisenhoff
254. Strascha
257. der Marckht Swingk
258. Tarischendorff

118. Der Marchkt Krinck

121. Krupp

124. Landsprejs

128. Lejtenburg

129. Liebeck

154. Nadlischek Tabor

163. Schloss und Marckht Nev Marcktl

171. Obernassenfües

179. Perenstein, Bärenstein

260. Thal, Dula

262. Thurn am Hart

267. Thurn bey Tsherembl

270. Töplitz

277. Tuffstejn

280. der Marckht Vermo

282. Volavtsche

292. Wejchselbach

293. Weinbüchel

Other copper engravings by Vitezović:

Coat-of-arms of Julius Bucelleni and fifty three coats-of-arms of the constituent parts of Illyricum in the *Stemmatographia sive Armorum Illyricorum Delineatio, Descriptio et Restitutio* (see Appendix Two, part iii, p.282).

Cicero pro doma sua

View of Wagensberg

View of the front part of Wagensberg

Caricature of Mohammed

Hatchment

Coat-of-arms of Adma Mordax.

Plates

Maps

Map 1 The Extent of the Illyrian-Slav World, p. 309.

Map 2 The Kingdom of Croatia, p. 311.

The Extent of the Illyrian-Slav World

The Extent of the Illyrian-Slav World, Map 1, p. 309, shows the position of those places listed by Vitezović in the *Anagrammaton sive Laurus auxiliatoribus Ungariae liber secundus* and the *Stemmatographia sive Armorum Illyricorum Delineatio, Descriptio et Restitutio* (see Appendix Two, pp. 281-282).

The following maps from Ankica Pandžić's *Stare Karte i Atlasi* were consulted in the process of locating certain names:

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G. Mercator, J. Blaeu, *Sclavonia, Croatia, Bosnia cum Dalmatiae Parte* (c. 1670); Pandžić, n. p.

G. K. Mercator, H. Hondius, *Turcici Imperii Imago*; Pandžić, p. 23.

V, M. Coronelli, I. B. Nolin, *Le Royaume de Dalmacie* (c. 1690); Pandžić, p. 57.

The Kingdom of Croatia

The Kingdom of Croatia, Map 2, p. 311, shows the location of places mentioned in the text and the boundaries of the Kingdom of Croatia before and after the 1699 Peace of Karlowitz. The position of the boundaries shown on Map 2 is based on information derived from the following sources:

Stjepan Srkulj, Obnovljenje Hrvatske od 1606-1791, *Hrvatska Povijest u Devetnaest Karata*, Map 14, p. 57.

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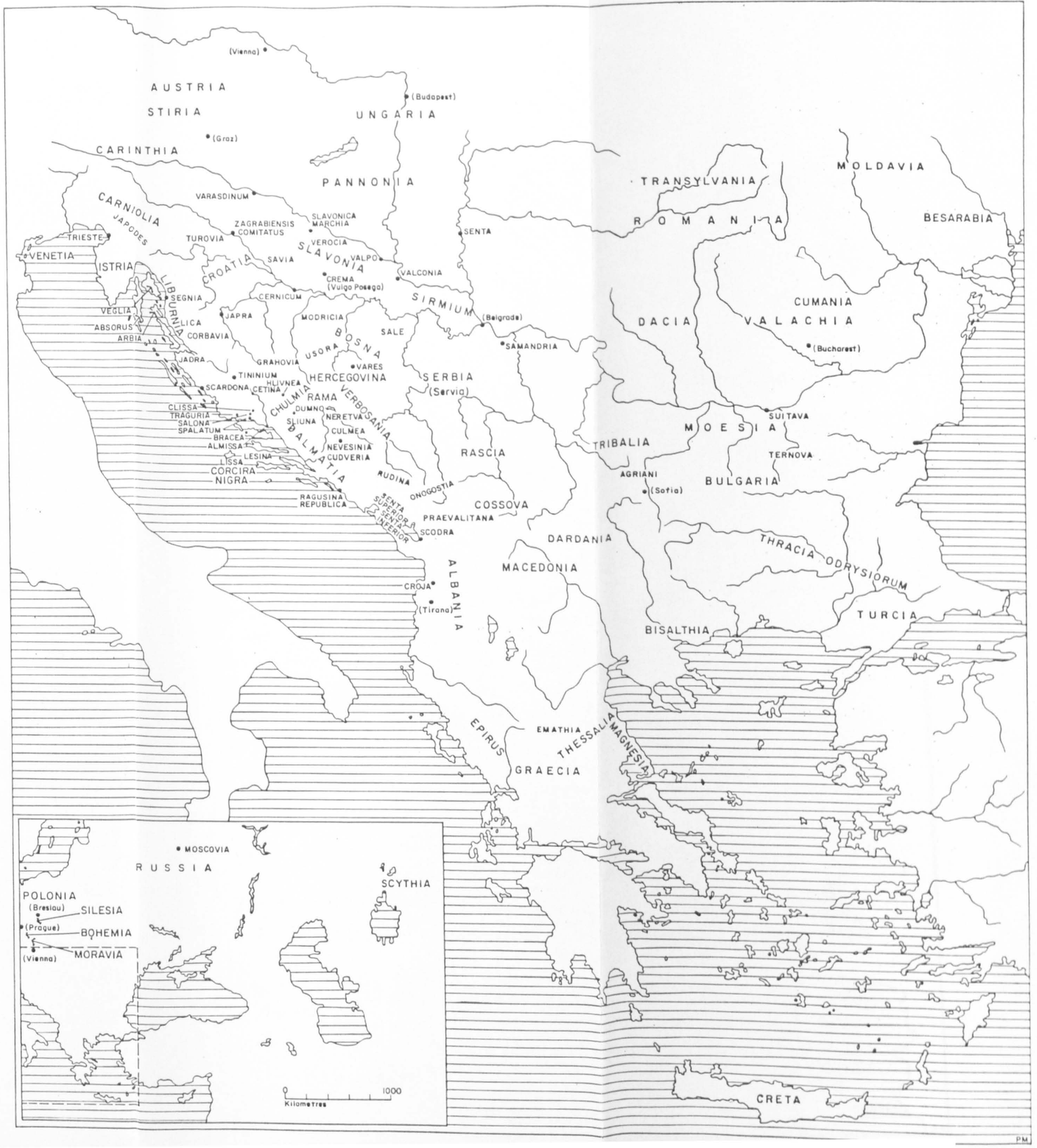
(Vienna)
AUSTRIA
STIRIA
(Graz)
CARINTHIA
CARNIOLIA
JAPODES
TRIESTE
VENETIA
ISTRIA
LIBURNIA
SEGNIA
VEGLIA
ABSORUS
ARBIA
JADRA
SCARDONA
CLISSA
TRAGURIA
SALONA
SPALATUM
BRACEA
ALMISSA
LESINA
LISSA
CORCIRA NIGRA
CROATIA
LICA
CORBAVIA
JAPRA
CERNICUM
VARASDINUM
ZAGRABIENSIS COMITATUS
TUROVIA
SAVIA
SLAVONICA MARCHIA
VEROCIA
SLAVONIA
VALPO
CREMA (Vulgo Posega)
VALCONIA
PANNONIA
UNGARIA
(Budapest)
SENTA
SIRMIUM
(Belgrade)
MODRICIA
SALE
BOSNA
USORA
GRAHOVIA
VARES
TININIUM
HUIVNEA
CETINA
HERCEGOVINA
CHULMIA
RAMA
DUMNO
SLIUNA
NERETVA
CULMEA
NEVESINIA
CUDVERIA
RUDINA
ONOGOSTIA
SENTA SUPERIOR
SENTA INFERIOR
SCODRA
RAGUSINA REPUBLICA
DALMATIA
VERBOSANIA
SERBIA
(Servia)
SAMANDRIA
RASCIA
COSSOVA
PRAEVALITANA
DARDANIA
MACEDONIA
CROJA
(Tirana)
ALBANIA
EPIRUS
EMATHIA
THESSALIA
MAGNESIA
GRAECIA
CRETA
TRANSYLVANIA
ROMANIA
MOLDAVIA
BESARABIA
DACIA
CUMANIA
VALACHIA
(Bucharest)
TRIBALIA
MOESIA
SUITAVA
TERNOVA
AGRIANI
(Sofia)
BULGARIA
THRACIA ODRYSIORUM
TURCIA
BISALTHIA
MOSCOVIA
RUSSIA
SCYTHIA
POLONIA
(Breslau)
SILESIA
(Prague)
BOHEMIA
(Vienna)
MORAVIA
0
1000
Kilometres
PM

Map 1

PAGE NUMBERING AS ORIGINAL

DRAVA
MURA
ORMUŽ
LEGRAD
HUNGARY
STYRIA
VARAŽDIN
MOHACS
SIGET
DANUBE
TRAKOŠĆAN
KRAPINA
PITOMAČA
DRAVA
SAVA
WAGENSBERG
LJUBLJANA
ZAGREB
SLANKAMEN
DANUBE
KARLOWITZ
CARNIOLA
SAMOBOR
CROATIA
OZALJ
SISAK
JASENOVAC
KUPA
KARLOVAC
BLINJA
SAVA
SRIJEMSKA MITROVICA
BELGRADE
KOSTAJNICA
UNA
DUBICA
SAVA
KORANA
ZRIN
RIJEKA
NOVI
SLUNJ
BUŽIM
BOSNA
DRENIK
KRK
SENJ
BRINJE
BRLOG
BIHAĆ
SVETI JURAJ
OTOČAC
PROZOR
DRINA
UNA
RAB
DONJI KOSINJ
OTTOMAN
CRES
KRBAVA
JAJCE
LIKA
PAG
VRBAS
MAUN
ZRMANJA
SARAJEVO
ZADAR
KNIN
VRLIKA
EMPIRE
ČETINA
BIOGRAD
NERETVA
SINJ
DUGI OTOK
ŠIBENIK
DRINA
KLIS
TROGIR
OMIŠ
MAKARSKA
SPLIT
VRGORAC
BRAČ
GABELA
POLJICA
HVAR
VIS
KORČULA
MLJET
DUBROVNIK
LASTOVO
BAY OF KOTOR
BAR
DURRES
LEGEND:
DUBROVNIK REPUBLIC
VENETIAN REPUBLIC
VENETIAN REPUBLIC AFTER 1699 PEACE OF KARLOWITZ
KINGDOM OF CROATIA 1606 BOUNDARY
KINGDOM OF CROATIA 1699 BOUNDARY
0
80
Kilometres
PM

Map 2

PAGE NUMBERING AS ORIGINAL

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22. XII. 1691, art. II
31. XII 1693, art. I
11. XI. 1694, art. VI
6. IX. 1695, art. IX
17. V. 1697, art. III
12. XII. 1702, art. X
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